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THE ESTATE OF ENGLISH FVGITIVES VNDER the King of Spaine and his miniſters.

Containing, beſides, a Diſcourſe of the ſayd Kings manner of gouernment, and the iniuſtice of many late diſhonorable practiſes by him contriued.

Newly corrected and amended.



LONDON,
Printed for Iohn Drawater, and are to be ſold at his ſhop in Canon lane neere Powles, at the ſigne of the Vnicorne.
1599

THE

ESTATE

OF ENGLISH

FVGITIVES VNDER

the King of Spaine and

his Ministers

Clearely discouered in their Speeches and
actions passages and behauiours many yeeres
obserued and in writes contained

Newly corrected and augmented

LONDON

Printed for John Deane, and are to be
sold at his shop in Cannon lane neere
Powles chayne ouer against the Vine.

1595

To the Reader.

BEing some fiue or sixe yeeres since in those partes of Flanders, which are subiect to the Spanish king, and seeing a miserable troupe of my vnhappie countrimen (some of which were gentlemen of good houses in England,) wandring in poore habites & afflicted gestures, heauily groning vnder the burthen of an extreeme and calamitous necessitie: on the one side, by their heedlesse demeanure there, debarred from returne into their countrie: and on the other, daiely ouerlooked with the proude eyes of disdainfull Spaniardes, & for want of due regarde in that comfortlesse seruice, perishing without either pity or reliefe. Seeing as I say, these things and entring into a consideration of them, with an vnpartiall iudgment, knowing some of my good friendes and acquaintance in England, possessed with the like humor as that which mooued the foresaid gentlemen to forsake their countrie and to settle themselues in the seruice and dominions of the king of Spaine: I thought good to aduertise them of that which my poore experience had gathered touching the small regarde, distresse, pouertie, scorne, calamitie & affliction, befallen to such as had alreadie entred the course, that to their vnexperienced iudgment yealded such shew of contentment: therby, if it were possible, to dissuade them from attempting the like, the same being in regard of the offence to their soueraigne so trecherous; of the reproche to their familye, and parentage so infamous, and lastly in so deep a degree to themselues dangerous, that being once thereinto entered, it shoulde not bee in their power, vpon their afterchange of humor and appetite, thence to withdraw themselues, the error being such as admitteth not any repentaunce or excuse. Hauing to that effect, written from thence priuatly to some of my acquaintaunce, the coppies of my letters (contrarie to my intention) were since my returne, by some of them giuen abrode, and lastly not long since, a discourse printed in Paules Church-yarde, conteining some parte of the substance

thereof, but manye thinges that I had written left out, and manye thinges inserted that I neuer meant, and finally in the whole so falsified and chaunged, aswell in matters as words, & ignorantly entermixed with fictions of the publisher, that howsoeuer the vulgar sorte bee therewith pleased, those that are of farther reach and insight, cannot but condemne it as a thing fabulous, grossely handled and full of absurdities. Besides, the time and occasion to which that discourse was fitting, is now altogether past, and therfore the same altogether impertinent. In regard of which and other inconueniences, I thought it not vnfitte to publish the true coppy of my owne letter, which though after so many yeares, cannot but seeme stale, yet the occasions that moued me thereunto considered, I trust I shall not otherwise be censured of, then the sincerities of my meaning deserueth, which is to dedicate the fruictes of my poore experience to the benefite of my countrie, & withal to satisfie the world, as touching the former treatise (for though they are suppressed, yet there are great numbers of them extant) the which was by a fellow, that had stolne a coppy thereof, foysted to the print, in hope of benefit, and now when the matter comes to examination, slips his head out of the Coller and will not bee found. VVithall, I shall perchaunce, seeing I haue so good an occasion offered, touch by the way, some occurrents of latter time. And whereas my meaning was at the first, onely to satisfie a few priuate friendes, now, seeing it is my chaunce to publish it, I shall intreate the Reader whosoeuer he be, & howsoeuer in religion affected, neuertheless laying aside all preiudicate opinion, not to condemne any thing (seeme the same neuer so strange) heerein mentioned, vnlesse hee shall himselfe be able to disprooue it, which I hope, for trewnesse of matter it shall not lie in any mans power to do. For my meaning is not to speak of sophisticall deuices, proiected drifts, or matters forged in the ayre, but plainly and simply, of thinges actually and really doon in publique view of the world, and confirmed with the witnesse of thousandes,

THE COPPIE OF A Letter, written by a Gentleman that had ſometimes ſerued the King of Spaine.

To a Catholike Gentleman his Kinſeman and Friend.

SIR, vnderſtanding as well by your Letters, as alſo by the meſſage lately done vnto mee by the mouth of R.B. *of the greate longing and deſire you haue to come into theſe partes, and to imploy your ſelfe heere in ſeruice of the Spaniſh King: And perceiuing alſo not only by your ſayde Letters, but by the Gentleman that brought the ſame, and by the report of ſundrie others, that many young Gentlemen of our Countrie are of your minde in that point: Some thereunto (as I geſſe) moued of a youthfull and vaine tickling humor, to be wandering abroad in ſtrange and forrein Countries: others in hope there to grow to great preferment, aduauncement, imployment, and wealth: other ſome pretending matter of conſcience, ſeeme to haue ſure*

confidence that there they may liue with more liberty and eaſe of minde, than that which within our Countrie they inioy: I haue thought good for the particular loue which I beare, and alwayes haue born towards you, vnto whom I wiſh as to my ſelfe (but chiefly in reſpect of that due humble regard, and Zealous reuerent affection which I beare to the ſeruice and ſacred perſon of our moſt gracious and princely Soueraigne the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie, and to my moſt dearly loued natiue Countrie & countrymen) to ſet downe ſome notes and obſeruations, which by a long and dangerous experience in this place I haue heedfully gathered. By which (I hope) I ſhall make manifeſt, as well to you, as likewiſe to all other my Country men (howſoeuer in humor diſpoſed) by apparant examples, and vndeniable truthes, how greatlie you and they (that deſire to repaire hether, by anie of the motions before expreſſed, are in anie hope of good to bee receiued from the ſayd King of Spaine or his miniſters,) do erre and are deceiued. I heartely and moſt earneſtly deſire you and all other that ſhall reade this Treatiſe, deeply to iudge & conſider of theſe pointes, which I ſhall heerein ſet downe, which (God willing) I wil doo with ſuch fidelitie, true meaning, & ſincerity, as that no parte of the ſame ſhal be truly to be gainſaid or reſelled & my ſelfe by the perſons, times, & places, & other circũſtances, ſhal make moſt manifeſt and plain, to anie that ſhall dout of the truth of the ſame, or anie part thereof. And I ſhall take great ioy & comfort, if my ſelfe hauing vndertaken an vntowardly & dangerous courſe, though with better ſucceſſe than hath happened to many hundreds, may be as a cauet to all the young Genelemen of our nation, how they hazard themſelues ſo daungerouſly: and that my painfull experience may be to them as a Looking glaſſe, wherein they may behold the ſpots & errors of their conceiued fanſies, or as a marke ſet vp for them, whereby they may auoid the perills and moſt dangerous rockes and ſhelfes, to them yet vnknowen, and lying hidden vnder the ſmooth, faire, and delightfull conceiued, and fantaſied

plea-

pleasures suggested vnto them by their owne imagination, the same being vnexperienced, and therefore without mistrust. And surely I cannot too much commend the saying of that excellent Romane Orator, who placed in the first degree of wisedome, those that were of themselues best able to giue good aduise, and in the next, those that were willing, and inclinable to follow it.

But some man may here perchance aske me, whēce I haue such an assurance of my wit, that I will take vpon me to aduise others, who are perchance better able to counsell me? To this I answere, that if anie man how meane so euer, will for my profite and good go about to instruct mee in anie thing, wherein himselfe hath made so long experience, and will confirme the same with so many substantiall prooses and examples as I will doo this, hee shall finde mee easie to be perswaded, without straining himselfe to the search of anie high points of wit, or subtiltie of well coloured speech, for so manifest a truth needs no disguising, but rather is by a plain and simple nakednesse the more commended. But as for those that with fore-possessed mindes, regarde not what daunger so euer they throwe themselues into, greedily with a new-fangled appetite swallowing downe anie licour that presents it selfe vnto them in a glistering cuppe, I thinke neither wit nor truth will bee of much auaile, though those that are of greater discretion and more temperatly disposed, will (I doubt not) reade it wyth indifferent eyes, and conceiue of it as it deserueth. For if they were to saile along the perillous rockes of Circe or the Syrenes, I thinke they would not refuse to heare Vlysses *speake, but gladly giue attention to his counsels, seeing among manie that perished, it was his onely hap to heare the alluring songs of the one, and to see the inchanting cruelties of the other, and yet to escape the danger of them both.*

I will entertaine you no longer with circumstance, but for the confirmation of my speech, refer you to the following Discourse.

Circes was a great Sorceresse, who transformed such into beasts & monsters as harkned to her allurements.

The Sirens were the three daughters of Achelous & Calliope, betweene Italy & Sicily, who with theyr delicious musike & singing drew ỹ passengers to listen vnto them, and procured theyr destruction.

The Poets faine thē to be transformed into sea monsters, & to retaine the sayd practise still.

The Copie of a Letter.

The beginning of the Diſcourſe.

BEeing forced by the fore-remembred occaſions, to make of a priuate Letter a publike diſcourſe, I am at the verie firſt troubled, not knowing what method to obſerue in a matter ſo abrupt & full of confuſion; which I feare me, is likely to proue to the true Engliſh and well minded reader as delightles, as it is to me that write it altogether comfortleſſe, in regard of the numbers of our nation whereof I muſt intreat, and among the reſt, of ſome of good parentage, that haue with full draught ſwallowed into their intrailes the loathſome dregs of this Spaniſh infection: being to our nation a thing as fatall and deadly, as euer was the gold of *Tholouſe*, or the horſe of *Seian* to the vnfortunate poſſeſſours thereof. Whoſe courſe and actions (though the lawe of God, the law of nations, the dutie to our Soueraigne, & the loue to our Countrie, bindeth vs to deteſt and hate, becauſe they follow an oppoſite armed enemie that ſeeketh our ſubuerſion: yet in regard they are of the ſame nation & language which we are of, charitie and kindnes wiſheth vs to take compaſsion of their abuſed conceits, & to wiſh them yet now at length to open their eies, & to behold the dangerous eſtate wherin they haue plunged themſelues, the infamie & ſcorne wherein they liue, yea, vnder thoſe whom they ſerue as hirelings: and laſtly, the

reprochfull blot that they haue giuen to the noblenes of our heeretofore vnblemiſhed nation, which in former ages, howſoeuer labouring in inteſtine broiles, yet neuer yet detected of ſuch baſe and wicked trecheries, as to ſell themſelues to a forren prince, to be by him imploied to the ouerthrowe of their countrie, and the taking awaie of their Soueraignes life.

This is the vnpleaſing ſubiect I muſt intreat of, drawing forcibly vnto it the recitall of ſo many conſpiracies, murthers, violences, practiſes, & treaſons, that for the ſtrangenes thereof, it will rather beare the reſemblance of a tragicall fiction, than of a true diſcourſe.

The method of this inſuing Diſcourſe

I will firſt direct my ſpeeches to ſuch vnexperienced Gentlemen, as are in deſire addicted to the Spaniſh ſeruice, ſhewing them in what point of their hope and expectation they doo faile, and are deceiued, laying vnto them before their eies, the fall, miſerie, and calamitie of as many as haue before them entered within the compaſſe of this inchanted circle.

Secondly, to our credulous Catholikes at home, vpon whoſe ignorance and driftles ſearch into theſe matters, our practiſing traitors abroad doo build their chiefeſt foundations of all their villanies (whom while they entertaine with vaine expectations, in the meane time (with traitors & ſpies which they daily ſend ouer) they abuſe with ouer-reaching ſubtilties, to the irreparable ruine and ouerthrow of them and theirs.

They haue alſo at their deuotion certain ambodexter fellowes, who vpon fained colour & pretences paſſe to & fro, feeding either ſide with newes, who in regard of ſome few bad intelligences, which now & then they bring into England, would faine be accounted honeſt ſeruiceable men: but they muſt pardon mee a little, in reſpect

reſpect of ſome experience that I haue had of them, if I conceiue otherwiſe, thinking them to be in deed far more dangerous than either the ſecrete ſpie, or the diſcouered traitor, and in place where, when I ſhall be askt, I will yeld my reaſon. For ſince I was a ſcholler, I remember a verſe in Seneca, *Pretio parata vincitur pretio fides*: I ſpeake this, becauſe the prince whom they ſerue, howſoeuer otherwiſe, with theſe fellowes will not ſticke to deale moſt liberally.

Seneca in Octaua Tragedia Agamemnon.

Thirdly, becauſe many of our Countrymen liuing in great happineſſe at home, yet (like thoſe that cannot take good reſt when they lie ſoft) doo in their conceit miſlike, ſurfeting with too much eaſe) the quiet eſtate they liue in, and the manner of her Maieſties moſt gracious and mercifull gouernment, I haue thought it my dutie ſomewhat to expres theſe few things which haue come to my knowledge, touching the benefites and bleſsings which it hath pleaſed God ſo plentifully to poure downe vpon her maieſty & her people: together with the floriſhing eſtate of that fortunate realme, ſince this the time of her Maieſties gouernment, ſo plentiful in peace, ſo victorious in warres, ſo induſtrious in artes, & ſo excelling in all ſciences, that the verie Spaniſh enemie him ſelfe will not ſticke many times to breake out into admiration thereat, & ſomtimes in his ſcoffing or rather blaſphemous humour ſweare that he thinkes Ieſus Chriſt is become a proteſtaut: withall, I will briefly make a ſhort compariſon betweene this & the gouerment of the aduerſarie, I meane the king of Spaine, his cruell and inhumane vſage of his miſerable ſubiects, his violent abolition & taking awaie of their priuiledges, and in fine, the vnſpeakable bondage, conſtrained ſeruitude, and pittifull deſolation in which they liue, or rather deſpairfully do languiſh: a matter though farre vnfit for mee to handle, but worthie of grauer wits, & men of the

The Spanyſh enemie him ſelfe admireth the bleſſed eſtate and happie gouernment of England.

higheſt wiſdome and experience, yet conſidering I ſhall not preſume to treate of matters of great eſtate and ſecrets, but ſuch as euerie well affected ſubiect may find and pick out of the heroicall action of the one, & the tyranicall inſolencies of the other, both done in the apparance of the worlde, I hope, & ſo with all lowlynes moſt humbly deſire her moſt gratious & benigne maieſtie to pardon mee, if vndertaking ſuch a taske, I chance to come far ſhort of that, which men fitter for the handling thereof could ſaie or intreat, & ſo likewiſe moſt earneſtly beſeech that I may therin be cenſured according to the loyall zeale I beare to her Maieſties ſeruice and my countrie, and not the baſenes and ſimplicitie of my ſtile, or the handling thereof.

But to come to my diſcourſe, to the end that you and the reſt of your opinion, may cleerely and plainly diſcerne thoſe things, which hetherto your eies blinded with the vaile of partialitie, or perchance miſled with a contrarietie of affection, haue not bin able to view: I wil begin with the good vſage, honor, and aduancement that you and other Gentlemen addicted to the Spaniſh ſeruice are to expect, bringing you for example ſundrie braue and worthie Gentlemen, Captaines, and ſouldiers, that haue taken the like cauſe before you; whereby you ſhall perceiue that all is not golde that gliſtereth faire, but that whatſoeuer ſhew the Spaniard make vnto vs, yet in his heart he mortally abhorreth vs, & by all meanes poſsible ſeeketh our deſtruction, ruine, and ſubuerſion, as it euidently appeareth by his vſage of ſuch troups and companies of our nation as haue ſerued him.

Eight Engliſhmen hanged vp in Antwarp by commandement of Don Luis Requeſence, the Cō-

I will not ſpeak of the crueltie of the Commendador vpon certaine Engliſh Gentlemen that had done notable ſeruices both to him and the Duke of Alua, of whom neuertheles for a meere trifling occaſion, he cauſed eight to be

be hanged vp after the lack of Antwerp on the Mere-brig.

mendador and Captaine generall of the lowe Countries for the king.

Neither will I trouble you with the tragicall discourse of M. *Ægrimont Ratcliffe*, & M. *Grey*, who were as the world knoweth, both gentelmen of noble houses, & most faithfuly affected both in religion and seruice to the Spanish king; neuertheles, vpon I know not what suspicion, that they should haue practised the death of *Don Iohn*, they were both apprehended, & though there neuer was, nor euer coulde bee anie thing proued against them, and they at their deathes protested themselues to be most innocent of that wherwith they were charged, yét their heads were striken off in the market place of Namures. I touch these thinges the more sparingly, because they happened before my time of being there, and in matters deliuered by heresaie I might erre, which (vndertaking to write nothing but that which is true and vnrefutable) I wold be loth to doo, and therefore I will come to things of later time, & such as I doo certainly know.

M. Aegrimont Ratcliffe and M Grey wrongfully put to death by the Spaniard.

At the siege of *Audenarde*, where the D. of *Parma* laie incamped, there came rendering themselues vnto his seruice, vnder the conduct of *Norris*, *Barney*, *Corniſh* & *Gibson*, whome they had chosen to be theyr Captaines, a troupe of sixe hundred, the tallest and best appointed souldiers that I remember euer to haue seene in all my life, theyr comming beeing the onely cause, that the Towne (a matter of greate importance, and on the land side; as it were the verie key of the prouince of Flanders) was so soon deliuered vnto him as it was. For whereas the Duke of *Aniou* and the Prince of *Orenge* laie vnder the walles of *Gaunt*, with suficient force and most deliberate resolution to succour the said towne of *Audenarde*, vpon this mutiny of the English, they marched awaie with their whole armie, leauing the enemie now battering the towne: which, seeing

Six hundred Englishmen came and rendred themselues to the Duke of Parmas seruice, who then laye at the siege of Audenarde,

The manner of their comming and their vsage,

it ſelfe fruſtrated of the expected ſuccours, preſently rendered it ſelfe vnto the Duke of *Parma*. Thence they were drawen to *Whynoch-bergen* to ſerue againſt the French & Engliſh that lay there incamped, where they behaued themſelues with ſuch deſperate reſolution, that day that Monſieur *de Alanſon*, brother to the Marqueſſe of *Warambon* was taken priſoner, that beſides the loſſe of many of their liues, they were a wonder to the whole army: which praiſe of theirs the pride of the Spaniards not induring, dyd vpbraide them that they had ſerued rather like giddie headed dronkards, than men wiſely valiant. Sir *Roger Williams* well remembreth this dayes worke, for hee was there in ſeruice of the ſtates, and vnles I am deceiued, loſt a brother in that ſeruice. Shortly after, vppon the remoue of the Duke of *Alanſons* armie towardes *Gaunt*, they were likewiſe brought thether, where alſo they gaue exceeding teſtimonie of their valor & courage, namely, the verie daie that ſir *Iohn Norris* made that famous and memorable retreat before *Gaunt*, who when the French men fled with a diſordered amazement, did with a preſent courage and excellent direction, maintaine the place with ſuch regiments of Engliſh as were vnder his charge; and withſtanding the Duke of *Parma* in the teeth with al his puiſſance, who furiouſly charged him, neuertheles withdrew his men ſtil holding their pikes in the boſomes of the enemy, ſafely vnder the wals of *Gaunt*, not without exceding domage to the enemie: inſomuch that the Duke of *Parma* woulde euer after ſaie, that hee only had that daie barred him from cryng quittance with the D. of *Alanſon*, for the retreat which he had cauſed him to make from *Cambray*; which ſtill did ſtick in his ſtomack euen to his dying day.

The enuy of the Spaniard,

The famous retreate made before Gaunt by ſir Iohn Norris,

But now to my new come Engliſh that had done theſe notable ſeruices to the Spaniard, let vs ſee howe they were recom-

recompenſed: within one yere they were ſuffered all in a manner to famiſh, which miſerie ſome of them ſeeking to releeue by foraging out vpon the countrie, foure & twentie of them were taken by the Spaniſh prouoſt, & carried to *Audenarde* (of the rendering whereof they had bin the chiefeſt meanes) and openly hanged in the market place. Another troup of them, being thirty in number, and lying in a village neere *Poppering* in Flanders, a companie of Spaniardes hearing of them, came into the village where they were, and after a friendly & ſouldierly ſalutation of each ſide, as they were all making merrie together, on a ſodain the Spaniards toke them at aduantage vnarmed, euerie one rifling them of their clothes, and ſuch other things as they had pilled abroad in the countrie. Sundrie complaintes were made to the Duke by the friends of thoſe that were thus murthered, and by the Captaines of the regiment, but Spaniards being the doers thereof, there could neither bee remedie nor iuſtice obtained. But to make amends, becauſe they woulde bee the cleanlyer rid of the reſidue of this poore miſerable troupe, the campe being then before *Wynoch-bergen*, wherein laie a mightie ſtrong garriſon of Frenchmen, they made them two little for..ſof purpoſe, in which they willingly placed them in the vtmoſt quarter of the whole campe, and neereſt confining to the towne, to the end they might haue all their throates cut, as in deede they had verie fewe nightes after, at which time the enemie aſſaulting them with great furie, and they defending themſelues moſt manfully aboue the ſpace of an houre, in ſuch ſort as the allarum paſſed through the whole camp, yet they were neuer releeued with anie ſuccour at all, inſomuch as the greateſt part of them being ſlaine in the defence, the enemie at laſt entered, and put the reſidue to the ſword.

Foure & twentie Engliſhmen hanged by the Spaniard in Audenarde.

A moſt monſtrous murther committed by ỹ Spaniards vpon ſundry Engliſh ſouldiers ỹ ſerued among them.

Amongeſt ỹ reſt ỹ were thus murthered there was one Aucrie Criſpe, brother in lawe to ſir Stephen Thornax: likewiſe a younger ſonne of Alderman Starkie, one Norton, &c.

Theſe Engliſh troups ouerthrowen by trechery of the Spaniard,

To

To rehearſe vnto you the ſundrie and ſeuerall calamities that theſe poore men as wel captaines as ſouldiers indured, during the time of that their vnfortunate ſeruice, eſpecially at *Gausbecke*, *Aske*, and *Gauer*, would ſeeme (I am ſure) vnto you for the vnſpeakable ſtrangenes therof, ſcrarcely credible, for they neuer receiued in all the time of their ſeruice, anie one moneths paie. I haue ſeene Lieutenantes & Enſignes of them go vp and downe ſickly and famiſhed, begging theyr bread, couered onely with poore blankets and tikes of featherbeds, that they had rifled in the villages abroad: Neither were the end of theyr Captaines leſſe tragicall, which I thought good to ſet downe, to the end you may perceiue, that ſuch and ſo great calamities as theſe, could neuer haue happened without the apparant hand of God, whoſe reuengefull iuſtice neuer ceaſed to purſue the infidelitie of theſe miſerable men, til he had taken them from the face of the earth.

The ſtrange & tragicall ends of the leaders and captaines of this reuolted regiment.

First *Norris*, chiefe captaine and ringleader of the reſt, after hee had leaſure to bethinke himſelfe of the foulenes of his fault, and withall ſawe the ſcorne and contempt wherein hee liued vnder the Spaniard, conceiued thereof ſo deep an impreſsion, that hee fell dangerouſlie ſicke, and into a kinde of lunaſie, of which before hee was well recouered, hee ſtole ſecretly out of the campe lying then at *Varnaton*, with intention to conuey himſelfe into *England*, but by the way was taken priſoner and carried to *Fluſhing*, wherby dying in priſon, or as ſome ſay, by laying violent hands on himſelfe, he preuented thoſe torments, that according to the quality of his offence, were prepared for him. *Gibſon*, at ſuch time as the campe laie before *Mening*, lying one night with his wife in his cabine, a Spaniſh horſman comming vpon occaſion into his quarter, chanced

Norris died miſerably at Fluſhing.

eed to tie his horse to the stake whereunto *Gibsons* cabbin was fastned, who what with stamping & shaking the cabbin, did so disquiet him, that he arose thinking to vntye the horse, giuing withal some harde wordes to the owner, who in requitall thereof ranne him through the bodie with his rapier, so that hee fell downe in the place starke dead. I sawe his wife many times after wardes weeping & falling downe vpon her knees before the Duke of *Parma* for iustice. But English blood was there of so vile price, especially being shed by a *Spaniard*, that the matter was not thought worthie the inquiring after.

Gibson slain sodenly by night.

Cornish was in the one of the litle forts before mentioned, at such time as they were surprised by the French men, within the which both himselfe, his lieutenant, Ensigne, and whole companie were miserablie slaine and mangled. *Barnies* Companie was with the other likewise defeated, and put to the swoord, but he himselfe was by his good happe sicke and absent at Saint *Homars*. Neuertheless hee escaped not altogether his part and portion of these afflictions, for presently vppon his returne to the campe, as hee stood beholding the march of a companie of footmen that passed by, hee was shot at, by an vnknowen man with an harquebuze, which by chaunce though it missed his bodie, yet it lighted vppon his right arme, in such sorte, as it shiuered all the principall bones thereof to peeces, so that hee hath vtterly lost the vse thereof. Shortly after hee was taken prisoner by the English souldyers of *Ostend*, where hee was euerie daie in danger of the gallowes, but vppon promises of greate seruices hee was at length set at libertie by sir *Iohn Conwaie*, and suffered to returne from whence hee came, whereas yet hee liueth but maymed and verie miserable, and in exceeding great distresse, needinesse, and pouertie.

Cornish & hys whole company slaine in a forte before Winochbergen

Two or there yeeres after this forerememb red ſtorie, came one *William Pigot*, who beeing of a meane man rayſed to the degree of a Captaine by *Sir Iohn Norris*, and in his abſence leſte as commander in *Aloſt*, ouer the reſt of the Companies, trecherouſly deceiuing him to whom he was ſo infinitely beholding, rendered the Towne, himſelfe, & the whole Regiment, (beeing well neere a thouſand as tall and well appoynted men as were in *Europe*) to the ſeruice and deuotion of the Spaniſh King, which ſeruice, howe meritorious & beneficiall it was vnto the *Spaniard*, I leaue to theyr iudgementes that knowe the Countrie. For by this rendition of the towne of *Aloſt*, they were the occaſion that he got *Dermounde*, the *Saſſe*, the fortes of *Leiſkins hooke*, Saint *Anthonies*, and Saint *Margarets the dole*, the beſt part of the land of *Waſt*, & in maner *Gaunt* it ſelfe, as the ſequele verie apparantly ſhewed: notwithſtanding all which ſeruice, they were within two yeres ſpace, what wyth hunger, the gallowes, and rigorous dealing, quite conſumed & brought to nothing. And laſtly at *Stalbrooke*, euen againſt the yeelding vp of *Antwerpe*, when all other Nations whatſoeuer, were to receiue theyr count & reckning, they onlye were infamouſly caſhierd without any one moneths paie, receiuing onelie euerie one a Ducket.

Aloſt betrayed to the king of Spain by a regiment of Engliſh men, of which one Pigot had ỹ commanding.

And which of all others is moſt monſtrous & ſcarcely credible, whereas ſome of the Captaines not long before, had made them of their own purſes new & faire Enſignes, thoſe Enſignes were by a Spaniſh Commiſſarie called *Spinoſa* (who came with order to diſſolue the regiment) taken violently from thoſe that bare them, in preſence of the Earle of Weſtmerland, who was Coronel of the regiment, and for a greater diſgrace both to him & the reſt, though both hee, Captaine *Treſham*, & the other Captaines complained to the Duke for redres, which they could not obtaine

An exceeding diſgrace vſed to the Engliſh by the Spaniard

taine: the *Spaniard*, afterwards made his brags, that he turned the English Ensignes into Spanish fieldbeds.

Captain Tresha a litle before the breaking of the regiment when Tailor was slain had his companie giuen him.

Somwhat before this time, when the whole campe receiued at the siege of *Dermounde* two moneths pay, they onely though of all others most trauelled in the trenches, wading euerie night from their quarter to the place where they kept their gard, which was vpon a dike or cauſſey, through waters vp to the boſome, and hauing had more men ſlaine in that ſiege, than anie other regiment in the whole camp, could not receiue on penie notwithſtanding that they had paſſed muſters with the reſt, yea and ſome of the Captaines had bribed the Commiſſaries to paſſe them many places, thinking thereby to make a great hand: but in ſted of monie when they made ſute to the Duke, were ſcornfully by him poaſted of to the Contadores of the armie, of whom they receiued the moſt baſe and opprobrious ſpeeches that were euer giuen vnto ſouldiers, & that can Lieutenant *Butler* well teſtifie: for he being then Lieutenant vnto *Pigot*, was one of the number vnto whom they were vſed: he is now in her Maieſties ſeruice, & was lately Lieutenant of ſir *John Poolies* horſemen, & as *I* heare, hath done her Maieſtie many good ſeruices. The concluſion is, they were abſolutely reiected, without euer receiuing one halfe penie. And laſtly, vpon caſting of the regiment, wheras the paie of a reformed captaine (for ſo they call them whoſe companies are caſhierd or taken awaie) of what nation ſo euer he be amongſt thē, is fortie crowns a moneth, they gaue onely to our Engliſh Captaines but fiue & twentie, neither that but in paper onely, for I thinke ſome of them neuer receiued anie pennie at all in mony, and if they did, I am ſure it was verie little.

There are in the kings army two Cantadors, whoſe office is to keepe ỹ Rols and bookes of the armie, to make ỹ Patents of Captaines & Coronels, & to put their hands to all ſuch aſſignations of mony as are graunted, and manie other the lyke thinges, ſo that theyr office is of great reckning and dignitie.

Thus much as touching the vſage which they receiued from the *Spaniard*: but now keeping the courſe I beganne,

I will acquaint you with the punishment which it pleased God to laie vpon the leaders and first seducers of this miserable forenamed troupe.

The names of ỹ Captaines and commanders of this Regiment, and their miserable ends

Vpon their arriuall in the Spanish camp, they were diuided into seuen companies, the one of which was giuen to the Earl of *Westmerland*, who vpon their humble request and sute, was made Coronell & commander of them all; and one *Contraras*, a *Spaniard*, ioyned with him as his assistant, or rather as a master & commander both ouer him & the regiment: another was giuen to *Pigot*, with the title of Lieutenant Coronell: the third to *Dalton*, with the office of Sergeant maior: the names of the other four vpon whom the residue of the companies were bestowed, were *Tailor*, *Vincent*, *Smith*, and *Walsh*. I will begin with *Pigot*, becausse hee onely was the first and chiefe actor & instrument in this trecherie, abusing with the subtiltie of his fair speech the rest of his countrymen, that were by him drawen into this action. *Pigot* after he had stayed a while in the campe, as hee was wilie and full of crafte, so hee quicklye perceiued how the worlde was likely to go with him and his fellowes, and therefore leauing the rest to weare themselues out in pouertie and trauell, he while hee had monie in his purse got him into *Spaine*, thinking surely with himself, that in regard his seruice had ben so important, hee should there haue bene receiued with crosse and candle, & besides, be mightely recõpensed. Hee would not admit anie other of the Captaines for companion in the iourny, fearing least partnership might haue made the merite of his seruice, (which to himselfe he attributed alone) seeme the lesse, and so consequentlie his reward.

The strange calamitie & death of Pigot

With this craftie intention he arriued at *Madrile*, where after he had a while wandered vp & downe vnregarded, at length by meanes of sir *Frances Englefield*, to whome he was

Pigots colde intertainment in Spaine.

was in that behalfe an earneſt ſuter, he was brought by an interpreter, (for he had no other language but plain Engliſh) to the ſpeech of *Don I. de Ydeaques*, being the the kings Secretarie, from whom (after hee had declared his ſeruice & cauſe of comming) hee receiued this anſwere, that the king had appointed the D: of *Parma* to bee his lieutenant, and Captaine generall in the lowe Countries, to whoſe direction and diſcretion hee referred the conſideration of all ſuch like ſeruices as ſhoulde there fall out, wiſhing him therefore with all ſpeede to returne vnto the Duke, who, no doubt, woulde take notice of his ſeruices: offering him his Letter vnto the Duke in that behalfe.

The anſwere of Don Iuan de Ydeaques the kings ſecretarie.

This anſwere was colde and contrarie to *Pigots* expectations, but backe hee muſt, there was no remedy: No replye of his coulde alter the Secretaries reſolution: Somwhat beefore his vndertaking this iourney, hee had married a handſome young woman of thoſe Countries, whom hee left at *Tourney* in a Cittizens houſe, and with hir in charge, all whatſoeuer he was woorth. Shee in the time of his abſence, being very fearful to lie alone, had intertained into hir bedde a younge man of the Towne of hir olde acquaintaunce, with whome (hearing of hir husbands returne) ſhe ranne awaie, ſelling firſt whatſoeuer of hir husbandes that was not portable, & the reſt of the things that remained, beeing of anie value, ſhee tooke with her. And with this Companion of hers ſhee got her ſelfe into England, knowing that her husbande durſt not make purſute thither after her: but comming to London ſhee mette with certayne Flaunders Souldyours that knewe her and her husbande, who vnder coulour of yeelding her aſsiſtance in a ſtraunge place, cooſened her of the greateſt parte of ſuch thinegs as ſhee had leſte (being of good woorth) as ſhee had ſo deceiued hir husband of: the reſt ſhe ſpent

in diſſoluteneſſe, and ſo by degrees according to the fortune of ſuch courſes, fell into the extreameſt miſerie and beggerie that might bee, in the meane time *Pygots* heart beeing ſtriken dead, with the coldneſſe of the entertaynment he had in *Spayne*, & now returning homewardes, on the one ſide quite fruſtrated of all his expectations and hopes, and on the other ſide purſued with the ſtinges and terrours of a guiltie conſcience, yet cheered vp himſelfe with thinking on the comfort of his wiues youth and affections, and withall of the money that he had left in her keeping: for you muſt conſider that he had not giuen, but ſolde the towne of *Aloſt* for thirtie thouſande French crownes, for payment of which they had hoſtages, & the ſame was fully paid before he deliuered vp the town. Out of this monie ſixe moneths paie was deducted for the ſoldiers, the reſt he diuided among the Captaines, retaining a great ſhare to himſelfe, which as you heare, he had left in keeping with his wife, as a certain remedie in ſtore againſt whatſoeuer hardneſſe of fortune ſhould afterwardes happen. But being vppon his returne to *Tarney* incountered with the newes of his wiues diſloyaltie, and withal, which grieued him moſt, finding his lodginges ranſackt, his coffers emptie, and himſelfe at once ouerwhelmed with ſuch a heape of ſcorne and miſerie, I leaue you to imagine the patience and quietneſſe wherewith his mind intertained theſe tidings, being (as before I told you) one that merely for monie (as for religion he knew not what it meant) had ſolde his loyaltie to his prince & countrie, his faith to his Coronell, (to whome in ſo many duties he was tied) and finally his owne perſon, as likewiſe hee would haue done his ſoule if hee could haue found a chapman. Sure I am that if by the bodies geſtures a man may iudge of the minds vnquiet perturbations, there was neuer any wretch more

Aloſt ſolde by Pigot to ỹ king of Spaine for 30 thouſand Frēch crownes.

wretch more violently ouerthrowen with the extremitie of an inward affliction and diſpaire, yet did he not for all this wholy forſake and abandon himſelfe, but rather determined to turne, as the prouerbe is, euerie ſtone, and to attempt fortune once anew, thereby either to redreſſe the miſeries of his eſtate, or at the leaſt, if the worſt ſhould fall, to end his lyfe, for finding himſelfe alreadie aboue the ſhooes, he made no reckning of being aboue the bootes, and therefore following the ſaying of the poet, *Per ſcelera ſceleribus tutum eſſe iter*, he reſolued himſelfe by a new treecherie to amend his olde, and withall his fortune if it were poſsible, & therefore fell preſently a tempering with ſome of his friendes in *Holland* and *Zeland*, and laſtly with my Lord of *Leiceſter* himſelfe, beeing then newly come ouer to the gouernment of the vnited prouinces, to whom he offered, ſo hee might haue his pardon, and withall bee rewarded, to betraie the Duke of *Parma* in ſome notable ſorte, beſides ſundrie other lyttle ſeruices (of which none could be performed without notable periurie & infidelity) to performe which he made prodigal offers of his beſt indeuors, which neuertheles truly I think he had not ben able to performe, though hee had neuer beene hindered in the courſe of his practiſes, yet from time to time he ſent my Lord ouer ſuch poore intelligences, as the ſmalnes of his credit wherein he liued could attain vnto. The carrier of his letters & the returner of his anſwere, was a brokerly felow, an Engliſhman that then dwelt in the Engliſh houſe at *Antwerpe*, called *I.G.* one that in intelligence, deſired to correſpond with either ſide, but with whether he dealt faithfully God knoweth. I will ſpeake the leſſe of him, becauſe though his wife remaine ſtill in *Antwerpe*, yet he himſelfe is withdrawen to *Middleborough*, where ſome ſay he liueth now honeſtly & wel. This fellow whether by careleſſe Seneca

lesse conueiance, or by worse practise, as some suspected, (though truly I thinke him thereof innocent, as *Rowland Yorke* afterwards assured me) with whome *Pigot* had at that time intelligence, who had vsed him before in such like practises for himselfe, and by him receiued his pardon & pasport, vpon his first being with the D: of *Parma*, frō my L. of *Leycester*, yet in conclusion hee handled his matters so ill, that *Mondragon*, chiefe Captaine and Lieutenant of the Castles of Anwerpe and Gaunt, came to haue intelligence thereof, who presently thereupon caused *Pigot* to be apprehended & conueied prisoner to the Castle of Gaunt, where hee had beene presently laide vpon the torture, but that *Hugh Owen*, who for some causes especially affected him, laboured to the contrarie. And in fine so much preuailed, that after halfe a yeeres imprisoment, he got him to be deliuered: Thence poore and penilesse hee traueled to Bruges, where the Duke of Parma then remained, with intention to sue for somwhat wherewith to relieue himselfe. But whether soeuer hee went, still *Nemesis* folowed him *in tergo*: for by the way he was taken by certaine English souldiers that laye in ambush on the way, and by them carried prisoner to *Ostend*, where with the smothnesse of his tongue, and the protestation of many great seruices by him intended, he so enchaunted Sir *Iohn Conway* then being gouernour of the towne, that hee forbare to hang him, as he was once determined: & presently by letters aduertised the Counsel of his taking, & withall such seruices, of which he to shift the halter from his neck, had giuen such confidence & assurance, so hee might bee suffred to escape: al which notwithstanding, by the counsels commaundement, he was sent for into England, and committed prisoner to the Marshalsie: where hauing remained some space of time, being one day wel ouernight

Pigot sent prisoner to the castle of Gaunt.

Nemesis in Terg.

Iustice still followed him at his heeles

Pigot taken & carried prisoner to Ostend.

he

he fel into ſtraunge and extreame accidents of his body, & was found the nexte morning dead. Such after this goodly ſeruice was his fortune, and ſuch his end, and ſuch bee the like of all other trecherous ill affected Engliſhmen. But nowe let vs come to ſpeake of maſter *Dalton*, beeing next in the rowe, and ſee how hee ſpedde.

This Gentleman, to the end you ſhould the better know him, was one of the craftieſt conicatchers that euer liued, and had all his lyfe time ſhifted it out with coolering ſleightes and practiſes of vilanie, as all the olde Flaunders ſouldiers that knewe hym can well teſtifie: now by reaſon of his good experience hee was growne verye weather wiſe, and did by many coniectures foreſee the ſtormes & tempeſtes that were comming towardes him and his Fellowes, and therefore thinking it a great madneſſe to lye ſtill at Anker in ſo daungerous & vnſafe a roade, hoyſed vp his ſayles and ſhewed them a fayre payre of heeles, running awaye from them at Torney, where the Duke of *Parma* then kepte his Courte, into France, yet becauſe he woulde not bee in hys abſence vnremembred, hee firſt tooke vp vppon his credite as much wares, as by all his vtmoſt deuiſes he could procure, eyther of mercers, Goldſmithes, or anye other ſorte of Artificers. Thence hee conueyed himſelfe into the North partes of Englande: where, as hee had gotten his goods wickedly, ſo hee ſpent them as riotouſly: afterwards changing his name, hee betooke him to ſea, and became a pirate, for which and ſundry other ſuch honeſt parts as hee had plaid he was afterwards apprehended, and tied vp to the galowes there in the North, in the yere 1586.

Dalton hanged in the North Country.

Tailor of all the reſt was moſt to be pitied, for hee was a man of very comely perſonage, fine qualities, and verie gentlemanly behauior. His father had long ſerued

her Maieſtie, as likewiſe himſelfe had done in ſome office, as I take it, pertaining to the prouiſions of her ſtable: it was my chaunce to conuerſe much with him, both becauſe wee were of acquaintance in *England*, as alſo that I liked exceedingly his conuerſation and the manner of his carriage: & truly thus much I muſt ſaie of him beeing now dead, that I did neuer know anie man that was ſtriken with a greater apprehenſion of his owne faule, & that did more euerie waie beat his braines and ſeeke all occaſions how to amend it The cauſe that had drawen him into this matter, as ſundry times he told me, & ſomtimes not without teares, were the many debts, with which (being very youthfully giuen) he had intangled himſelfe in *England*, & withal his marriage, which was moſt vnfortunate. To rid himſelf of both which inconueniences at once, he had thrown himſelf into this headlong action, which ſurely if God had lent him life, he would haue indeuoured to amend. For I remember once, the camp lying then at a place called *Euergham*, that coronel *Morgan* ſent him a ſecreat Letter, wrapped in the long haire of an Iriſh lacky that brought it, who not handling his matters with that warines as was requiſite, the Letter was diſcouered, and Captaine *Tailor* apprehended: neuertheles by the helpe of his owne wit, and the aſſiſtance of his friends, hee was ſoone ſet at libertie againe, though with an exceeding ſuſpition, that euer after ouerlooked his doings; inſomuch, that in great griefe of mind he complained vnto me, that the onely iealouſy held of him in regard of this Letter, would be a great hinderance to that ſatisfaction which hee had in his minde reſolued, which was at leaſt to haue drawen back awaie with him all ſuch Engliſh ſouldiers as ſerued the king in that regiment, which in regard of their loue vnto him, he might eaſily haue done. But it pleaſed

Coronell Morgan ſent a Letter to Captayne Tailor in ſ hair of an Iriſh lacky

the almightie in his iudgements to preuent him, & to take him awaie in the midst of his imaginations, for he and my L. of *Westmerland* hauing bin one daie in the *Quarter* of the Wallons, banqueted by a captaine of the Count of *Egmonts*, where according to the vse of that nation, either of them had bin constrained to drinke liberally: as they returned backe together they two in companie alone towards *Euergham*, they fel into contention aboute a friuolous matter, concerning one *Dawes* an Irishman, that serued the Earle, & that so farre, that the Earle reuiling him in many opprobrious names, lighted down his horse, and drew his sword, willing him to dop the like, but *Tailor* knowing howe extreamly there the law determines of him that should draw his sworde against his Coronell, put spurs to his horse & galloped home before to his lodging: which scorn of his, as the Earle did interpret it, moued him to so great choler, that getting vp on his horse he pursued him, and drew vpon him againe afore the verie dore of his lodging, which indignity *Tailor* not being able any further to indure, drawing his rapier likewise encountered him, & after some thrusts betweene them, ranne the Earle verie daungerously into the brest, at which instant *Contaras* the Spaniard, accompanyed with many souldiers of the Earles companie, the most parte of the which had halbertes, came running in, and inuironing *Tailor* of all sides, most cruelly murthered him with aboue twentie woundes, for which cause the Earle was, vpon the complaintes and earnest pursuite of the other Captaines and souldiers, by the Duke of *Parma* for a time banished the regiment, and the gouernment therof giuen to one *Maria Caraquini*, an Italian.

The Earle of Westmerlande and Captayne Tailor entered into quarrell.

Tailor hurtes the Earle.

Tailor slaine by the Earle of Westmerland, & Contaras a Spaniard.

Shortly after another of these Captaines called *Ed. Vincent*, was sent out of the land of *Waes*, where the Spanish armie laie then incamped, with two hundred English

fouldiers, in compan of any Italian captaine with as many more Italians, towards the forte of Terneuſe, where by a ſallie made from out the fort, they were all ouerthrowen, ſundrie ſlaine, and among the reſt Captaine *Vincent* taken priſoner, where neuertheles, in regard of former acquaintance with Coronell *Michael*, who was there commander for the States, he found ſuch fauor at his hands, that he was not preſently deliuered ouer to the States (as he mortally feared) but ſet at raunſome at an hundred and fiftie pounds, prouided that the ſame ſhuld be ſent with ſpeed, for otherwiſe when the matter ſhould be once knowen to the States in *Holland*, it could not be in his power poſſible anie longer to with-holde him. of which deſperate eſtate, *Vincent* did with all ſpeed aduertiſe his father, being then a poore old man, well neere ſeuentie yeeres of age, who hauing by preſent ſale of ſuch things as his ſon had left with him, raiſde ſome part of the money, fell downe vppon his knees before the Duke, weeping and imploring his helpe for the reſt, telling him in the Spaniſh tong (in the which language he was very perfect) the great danger and extremitie of the caſe his ſonne then ſtood in, if ſo be his raunſome were not preſently ſent. But in ſtead of yelding him releeſe, the Duke bad, take away the importunate dotard: but when neuertheleſſe he perſiſted (ouercome with a fathers affection) to vſe many loude and paſſionate ſpeeches, the Spaniards by violence thruſt him away, calling him foole and dronkard. The griefe wherof ſtrake the old man ſo inwardly to the hart, that he went home to his lodging and died within fixe daies after. And his ſonne when his ranſome came not in time, was by the States commandement ſent to *Bargenopſome*, and there hanged in chaines, where his carcaſſe remaineth yet waſting in the wind.

Captaine Vincent taken priſoner.

Vincents father died of ſorrow, & himſelf hanged in chains at Bargenopſome.

Smith held yet ſomewhat longer out, though drinking as

as deeply in the cup of miserie, or rather deeplier than any of the rest, for he fell thorough sickneſſe and pouertie into ſuch extremitie of wants, that of a captain he was faine to become a victualler, and to buy butter and cheeſe, and by making ſale thereof againe, to helpe to releeue his poore eſtate. Withall, he fell into ſo ſtrange & extreame a dropſie, that I ſcarcely beleeue the like was euer heard of: neyther truely doo I ſpeake this to amplifie the matter, for all thoſe that haue ſeene him beyond ſea, will approue my ſpeeches: either of his legs was ſwolne to the bignes of a mans middle, his face onely was bare of fleſh and miſerable, and his eies ſunke into his head, in ſuch ſort, that I neuer remember to haue beheld a more pittifull ſpectacle: in which miſerie after he had languiſhed well neere a yeere & a halfe, he died finally in extreame calamitie, as it is told me ſince, at *Gaunt*, in the yere 1588.

Walſh onely had this good hap, that he ſuruiued all the reſt, of whom I will ſpeak the leſſe, becauſe there is ſcarcely anie one in England that profeſſeth armes, but knewe both him and his fortunes. After the breaking of the regiment, from a captaine hee was faine to become a priuate ſouldier, and yet not thereunto without great ſute accepted, vnder *Camille de Mainis* companie of horſemen in the gariſon of *Breda*, which iſſuing one day forth of the town, was vpon the plaines neere adioining encountered & defeated by ſir *Phillip Sidneys* companie of Engliſh lances, & among the reſt, Captaine *Walſh* in two places grieuouſly wounded, and taken priſoner, and brought into Holland, where my L. of *Leiceſter* gaue commandement preſently to hang him. Sir *Phillip Sidney* (being full of true honour) earneſtly intreated my Lord for his pardon, and obtained it, in reſpect that he knew him to bee valiant, and withall, that howſoeuer in this action tranſported, yet he had euer

Captain Walſh taken priſoner.

borne a dutifull regard towardes her Maiestie. Whereupon being recouered of his hurts, he serued sometwhile in the armie vnder my Lord of *Leicester* as a priuate souldier. Afterwardes comming into England, hee went with my Lord *Willoughbie*, as Ensigne to one of his companies, to the siege of Paris. Lastly, he followed my Lord of *Essex* in to France as a priuat souldier, where his fortune was to be slaine vnder the wals of Roan: and with his death finished the last act of this tragedie. Of which truly I know not what you will iudge that reade it, but sure I am that I who write it am ful of wonder and amazement, when with my selfe I consider in so short a space the fall of so many men of greate courage and valour, all taken awaie by violent death. Which vndoubtedly maketh mee assure my selfe, that God doth mightily protect the cause of her Maiestie, and will not suffer the disloialties of her vnfaithfull subiects to escape vnpunished, as by these most miraculous forerememberd examples most euidently appeareth.

Captain Walsh slaine vnder the wals of Roane.

God doeth apparantly protect ỹ cause & quarrell of her Maiestie.

But now to proceed with my Discourse. Shortly after came sir *William Stanley* and *Rowland Yorke*, either of them being a man of great courage, well approued valour, and long experience in the warres, the one rendering vnto the king the towne of *Deuenter*, and the other betraying the fort of *Zutphen*: the one being Coronell ouer a regiment of foot, and the other captaine of a companie of launces. Let vs see the one and the others prosperitie, and the sequell of their vsage vnder their newe chosen master the Spanish king. First sir *William Stanley* was confirmed gouernor of the towne, which he rendered, and his regiment left there in garrison, with the receit of two moneths pay. For a while he liued in the greatest applause that might be. Cardinall *Allen* was written vnto to Rome, to send down priests to instruct this religious regiment. Hee informed the

Sir W: Stanley & R: Yorke, the one rendering ỹ towne of Deuēter, & the other ỹ fort of Zutphē

the Pope thereof, who both wrote ioyntly vnto the King to be good and gracious vnto this regiment, which being well and liberally intreated, as they had already at *Rhemes* and *Rome* a Seminarie of students & schollers, to pray and write for the Catholike cause of our country, so this being conducted by so worthie and Catholike a Gentleman as sir *W. Stanley*, might be a continuall nurserie and seminarie of souldiers to fight for the same. Withall, Cardinall *Allen* wrote a booke vnto the captaines and souldiers of this regiment, indeuoring therein to satisfie their consciences as touching the iustice of this action, and likewise animating them constantly to perseuer in this goodly course into the which they were now entered. Besides, down came priests thick and threefold from France and Italy, catechising these new souldiers with many Masses and continual sermons. Gentlemen that for their conscience laie dispersed in other partes, all drew downe thether in hope of this good payment and golden worlde that there was talked of. In the meane time while the matters were thus in handeling, there chaunced to arise a great and deadly contention betweene sir *William Stanley* and *Rowland Yorke*, which as you shall heare, yeelded a verie good and easie occasion to ouerthrow them both, which to the ende you may the better vnderstand, I thinke it not amisse to fetch the matter somewhat farther from the beginning,

A Treatise written by Cardinal Allen

Quarrell betweene sir W. Stanley & Yorke

Deuenter, whereof sir *William Stanley* was made gouernor by my L. of *Leicester*, is a faire citie, chiefe & metropolitane of the prouince called *Ouerisel*, which confineth on *Frizeland*, scituated vpon the inside of the riuer *Isel*: not far thence vpon the same riuer and the same side standeth a great towne called *Zutphen*, wherin there was for the king of *Spain* a gouernor called *Tassis*, a German born, & of obscure

scure parents, but himselfe of notable courage, and by degrees and desertes was growen in these partes vnto great reputation and commandment, next in authoritie to *Verdugo*, who was Generall of *Friseland*, *Ouerisel*, *Zutphen*, and the bordering places: he had first trained *Tassos* vp to the warres and giuen him from time to time such charges and preferments, as at length he had brought him to bee in a manner equall with himselfe in dignitie, insomuch that at length he began to suspect his greatnes, & wold haue clipt his wings, but could not, for the other was passing ambitious, full of courage, and by name and many deserts knowen vnto the king, so that in no sort he would let himselfe be touched in the least iot of his greatnes and reputation, whereupon each of them bare a secret grudge & rancor to the other, which came by this meanes to bee more inflamed. For sir *W. Stanley* hauing in his mind fully determined the rendition of *Deventer*, entred into secrete practise with *Tassos* for the performing thereof, who with all gladnes and secrecie intertained his offer till such time as the towne was rendered into the hands of *Tassos*, vppon such agreements & conditions as between them were concluded. *Tassos* exceedingly reioyced at the honour of this enterprise, and receiued both from the King & the Duke of *Parma* many thankes and promises of reward, for his diligence & discreet behauiour therein. Then the which nothing could be more displeasing & bitter to *Verdugo*, who being gouernor of the prouince, and hauing the forces in his hand, tooke it as an exceeding disgrace & scorne done vnto him, that an inferior person, such as he reckned *Tassos* to be, shuld vnderhand accomplish so great an exploit, and go away with the honor thereof, and he in the meane time remain stale & neglected, as a man vtterly accounted vnworthie so much as once to be acquainted therwith, so that

Tassos gouernor of Zutphen.

Verdugo lieutenant generall of Friseland

Quarrell betweene Tassos & Verdugo.

that from that time forward he nouriſhed in his heart a deadly harted againſt *Taſſos* and ſir *William Stanley*. In the meane time *Rowland Yorkes* companie of horſmen was confirmed vnto him by the Duke of *Parma*, and both hee & they ſent downe to lie in gariſon at *Deuenter*: where of the one ſide he taking vppon him more commandement than ſir *W. Stanley* thought to bee conuenient, and on the other ſide ſcorning to liue as a priuate Captaine in a towne of gariſon, (eſpecially vnder the commaundement of one of his Nation, to whom he iudged himſelf no way inferior in worthines) they began to enter into a great miſlike one of the other, and by degrees into deadly quarrels and challenges, as ſome nowe in England can well teſtifie, who were mediatours betweene them. Neuertheleſſe by meane of friendes they grew againe to reconciliation, though the ſame was but from the teeth outward, & continued not long. For *Yorke* in the meane time hauing diſcouered *Verdugos* humor, fell ſectetly to practiſe with him, a meane whereby to thruſt ſir *William* and his companies out of the towne, hoping, (and therein being by *Verdugo* comforted & confidently aſſured) that vpon the remoue of ſir *William*, the gouernment of the towne ſhould remaine wholy in himſelf: wherupon he ceaſed not to beat into *Verdugos* eares (that were of nothing more deſirous than of theſe newes) the wauering inconſtant humours of ſir *William Stanley*, the offers made vnto him by my L. of *Leiceſter*, and his other friends in England, eſpecially of the ſmall affection his ſouldiers had to the ſeruice of the Spaniſh king, who deſired nothing more than an occaſion to recouer the fauour of their Countrie, which by no meanes they ſhould ſo ſoone procure, as by redeliuering the towne. Aſſuring him that there were to this end great practiſes in hand, which could not but turne to a dange-

Yorke practiſed with Verdugo, to diſpoſſeſſe ſir W. Stanley of ỳ gouernment of Deuenter.

rous issue if they should not bee in time preuented. Presently thereupon *Verdugo* wrote to the D. of *Parma*, aggrauating the matter with so many additions of his owne, that the Duke counted the towne as halfe lost alreadie, though in truth I thinke there was neuer anie such matter pretended: and presently sent downe a straight Commission to *Verdugo*, to draw three of the sixe companies, ouer which sir *William Stanley* was gouernor, out of the town, vnder colour of succoring *Monsieur de Haultpen*, brother to the Earle of *Barlamont*, who was in the field with some few forces, taking in some certaine places of Gelderland. *Verdugo* was nothing slowe to execute this Commission, but caused it to be accomplished with all speed, thrusting in their place certaine Companies of his owne into the towne: and within a while after hee so practised, that sir *William Stanley* with his other three Companies, were vnder the like colour of seruice commaunded also to come foorth, beeing tolde that hee should presently returne into it againe, which as yet to this daie hee neuer did. But by this fine deuise was eased of his gouernment, and such goods as he and his souldiers left, were spoyled and made bootie of, euen as though they had pertayned to publyke enemies: since which time this Regiment of Seminarie souldiers with all their religion, were neuer trusted in anie towne, nor as I beleeue, neuer shall.

Sir W. Stanley & his company drawen out of Deuenter.

Beeing now ioyned with the troupes of *Haultpenne*, they chaunced to encounter the enemie hard by *Balduke*, where the Italians and Burgonians, ouer which *Haultpenne* had charge, playing exceedingly the cowardes, they onely behaued themselues, though with losse of many of their liues, so manfully, and with such courage, that they grewe ouer the whole countrie into a marueilous reputation of good souldiers. But leauing here *Haultpenne*

their

their generall wounded to death, they marched down into *Brabant*, where for recompence of their late good seruice, they were wintered in the field, without monie, and in such great misery, nakednesse, and pouertie, that tenne weekes together their chiefest foode and sustenance in Turnot, was dried acornes that they founde in sellers, which diet the priests not liking of, came to their coronell to Antwerp, who to auoide the lamentations and complaintes of his souldiers, had gotten him thether before, where one *Oliuer Eustace*, an Irish gentleman, told him to his face, that he was the author of these poore mens myserie, and therefore bound in conscience to procure them some releefe. Sir *Willian* bit his lip, knowing well that hee had told him truth, and their calamitie went to his very heart, but how to remedie it hee knew not, and therefore absented himselfe in *Antwerpe*, where you should neuer haue founde his table without foure or fiue priests, some of the which were in their behauiour and words far more insolent and saucy than the meeknes of their vocation required, insomuch that the captains & gentlemē took such griefe & scandall at their controlling humor, that they left sir *W. Stanley* wholy abandoned and vnfrequented. Some did much wonder how a Gentleman of his worthines & courage could indure these indignities, as to suffer himselfe to be directed and gouerned by them, especially in such matters as concerned not their vocation. I will not touch for some respects here, in anie particulars, but if you speake with Captaine *Hart*, who was then sir *Williams* Lieutenant, or with Captain *Salsburie*, who are now both in *England*, they will satisfie you farther in this mater, none can better speake it than they, especially the last named, because hee opposed himselfe, and had surely sunke vnder the burthen, if that his wyt and courage had not

Haultpen slaine in an incounter not farre from Baldule

carried him thorough. Once ſir *William Stanley* began to looke to it, and to auoide both that and other inconueniences, tooke (ſome yeeres ſince) his iourney into *Spaine*, partly to ſecure vnto himſelfe ſome eſtate of liuing, of which he now (conſidering this dealing) began to doubt) partly by the inuitation of the Ieſuites, with which order he is exceedingly inchanted, and to them wholy ſubiected, who dealt for him in ſuch ſort with the Cardinall, that he preſently ſent *Parſons* away into Spaine, to informe the King of his worthines and vertue: & withall, of his experience of the ſea coaſts of England, but eſpecially of his intelligence about Ireland, which in truth hee preſumeth to be verie great. *Parſons* plaid his part in ſuch ſort, that ſir *W. Stanley* was preſently ſent for, who vppon his ariuall did what he could to perſuade the king to ſend forces for Ireland, but belike there was no ſuch credit giuen him as hee expected there ſhould be, inſomuch that he wrote Letters to *Holt* the Ieſuit, being in *Bruſſels*, (which is his countryman, and one vpon whom he chiefly relieth) of great diſcontentment, ſignifying that his intertainment was farre colder than he expected. Within ſhort ſpace after he was ſent downe to the Kinges nauie, lying at *Coronia*, where a while he remained with the *Adelantado*. In the meane time his regiment began to drop and droup awaie, in ſuch ſort, that what for lack of ſuſtenance, and through ill vſage, the number of them was ſo melted, that they were not in all aboue an hundred and fiftie: and for the chiefeſt captaines, leaders, and gentlemen, they did both ſo much miſlike the baſe handling of matters, as alſo the practiſes there dayly ſet abroach againſt their Countrie, that they made (by meanes) interceſsion to her Maieſtie for their pardon, which of her merciſull and roiall benignitie ſhe granted, ſo that ſuch of them as remaine aliue, do inioy their countrie,

Sir W: Stanley tooke his iourney into Spaine

Sir W: Stanley wholie directed by the Ieſuites

He tooke wyth him into Spaine Hugh Owen, & George Parſons brother to Parſons the Ieſuit.

He ſent E: Criſp before to Rome to ſolicite his matters with ỹ Cardinal, who returning thẽce met him afterwards in Spaine

Sir W: Stanley ſents to Coronia

Sir W: Stanley forſaken by his Captaines.

trie, and can testifie this which I haue sayd to be true. But now to returne to *Yorke*, whom I leste in *Deuenter*, assured both by *Verdugos* promises and his owne hopes, of the townes gouernment: when he sawe Graue *Harman* make his enterie as newe created gouernour by the Dukes appointment, you must imagine that it grieued him to the verie gall: but forced he was to dissemble it with his best patience. Neuertheles hauing in the town a gallant companie of lances, in despight of them hee flourished & bare his head aloft, ranging & scouring ouer the whole countrie, bringing in daily great booties, & growing rich. This prosperitie of his was a great blemish in their eies, for they knew him to be discontented, and of a dangerous humor, so that they did not greatly trust him: therefore fairely on a daie at dinner they caused him to bee poisoned, where likewise were poisoned with him yong *Rich. Souch*, & *Robert Fenne* priest, but he belike hauing swallowed the chiefe substance, they only met with the drams, so that he died miserably, and they fell sicke and brake out into many pustules & biles, yet afterwards recouered, & did giue this testimonie: his breath was no sooner out of his bodie, but *Trias*, a Spanish Captain, and Graue *Harman*, the new gouernour, rusht into his lodging to breake vp his coffers, in which being withstood by *Yorkes* lieutenant *Iohn Bowcer*, and by *Edward Bowcer* his brother, they caused theyr gards at noone daies to entet in vppon them, and most inhumanely and barbarously to murther them both in their owne presence: which worthie exploit being performed, they brake vp his coffers, tooke out his iewells, plate, and money, of which they found great store, appropriating the same to their owne vse, as likewise they did his horses, armes, and furniture, though he by testament had bequethed them to a little youth, his brothers sonne, called *Ed-*

Yorke poisoned by the Spaniard R. Souch & R. Fenne priest.

I. Bowcer & his brother E. Bowcer murthered by the Spaniard

mond Yorke, beeing then in thoſe partes with him. Laſtly, they chaſed his whole compaine out of the towne, and ſpoyled their baggage at the gates, who (poor men) ſeeing their Captaine poiſoned, their Lieutenant murthered, & themſelues ſo vnchriſtanly dealt withall, repaired to *Verdugo*, imploring his helpe and aſſiſtaunce in ſo hard an extremitie, who for recompence, verie charitably caſhierd them al without the receit of one peny.

Yorks company barbarouſly intreated by the Spaniard.

Afterwards when the fame of this poiſoning grew rife abroad, they gaue out and publiſhed; that ſome one had done it, ſuborned thereunto by the Councell of *England*, but if there had bin no other proofe (as there were infinit) yet the ſequell of their doings, their murthering of his friendes, and the robbing of his treaſures, ſhewed by whom it was done, and whereat they aimed. Thus much as touchnig the vſage which they receiued from the king and his miniſters: now keeping the courſe I began, let vs ſee with what proſperitie it pleaſed God to bleſſe this action of ſir *W.S.* & thoſe whō he vſed as inſtruments therein.

After his comming into the kings ſeruice, he diuided his regiment, which was the greateſt part Iriſh, into ſixe companies. The leading of his owne company hee gaue to *Peter Winne*, in which roome afterwards (maſter *Winne* diſcharging himſelfe) he placed one *Hart*, an olde ſouldier and follower of his. The other fiue companies he gaue to *Gwin*, *Salsburie*, *Eaton*, *Reinolds*, and *Harriſon*, the ſargeant maiorſhip he gaue to one *Simon Scurlocke*, an Iriſh Gentleman: but aboue all the reſt, hee himſelfe conuerſed moſt in kindneſſe of loue and affection with with one *R. Aſhton*, who had beene his bedfellow, and the greateſt furtherer of him in this enterpriſe. The foure firſt named, after humble ſute made vnto her Maieſties honorable councel for their pardon, returned into England, & imploied thē-

The names of ſir W: Stanleys captaines.

ſelues

selues with great commendation in her Maiesties seruice.

Gwin went with my Lord of *Essex*, and lastly with sir *R. Williams* ouer into France, as sargeant maior of his Regiment, where being wounded in a skirmish before the wals of Roane, he languished thereof grieuously some three or foure weekes, and finally ended his daies at *Diep*. Captaine Gwin slaine before Roane

Peter Winne likewise went ouer with my Lord of *Essex* into *France*: and now lastly hearing of the Turkes descent into Hungarie, obtained leaue to go serue in the christian armie against him, where he was exceedingly well intertained, and honoured with the leading of a companie of footmen. But nowe in the late ouerthrowe giuen by the Turke to Archduke *Mathias*, it is reported that hee was slaine. I could wish the report to bee vntrue, for hee was a man of singular parts, and might haue done her Maiestie much good seruice. Captain P. Win slain in Hungary by the Turke.

Iames Eaton went the Portingal voiage with sir *F. Drake*, where with extremitie of sicknes he died on the way. Captaine Eaton dyed in the Portugall voiage.

Onely captaine *Salsburie* liueth, but hath tasted his part of as much aduerse fortune, as truly I thinke, his verie enimies could wish him.

Reinolds laboring with all instance by his friends heere in England for his pardon, was preuented of his returne by a cruell bloudie flix, of the which he died in Brussels. C. Reinolds died at Brussels of a bloudie flix

Harison was one morning, as the companies marched, runne through the bodie and slaine by a baggage fellowe of the regiment, whom he had striken the night before. C. Harison slain by a souldier of the regiment

Scurlocke the sargeant maior, stragling with certaine of the souldiers abroad in France, was incountred by the pesants, and chased vp into a Church steeple, where finally both he & they, refusing to submit themselues to the fury of the clownes, were burnt aliue. Scurlocke y sargeant maior burnt aliue by the pesants.

Roger Ashton comming lately into England, was apprehended

hended & executed at Tiburne for treaſon. If God himſelf lay it down as one of his bleſſings, that he will giue the righteous long & many happy daies on the earth, ſurely the the taking of theſe men away in the beſt of their yeres by ſuch violent ends, in my iudgement is an apparant argument of his wrath, from which of his diuine and inestimable mercie, I beſeech him to deliuer vs

Roger Aſhton executed for high treaſon

Neither were it onely the Captanes that thus periſhed, but in a manner all the reſt, though I trouble you not with their particular names & diſcourſes, in ſo much, that lately (the olde Engliſh and Iriſh ſouldiers beeing worne out, ſir *William Stanley* was faine to fill vp his Regiment wyth *Wallons* and *Dutchmen*) appoynting new Captaines ouer them, and making one *Iaques Franceſco* his Lieutenant Coronell: one borne in *Antwerp* of Italian parents, but from his infancie brought vp in *England*, and in many dueties tied both to the nation, and to ſundry Gentlemen of the ſame, for many their loues aud liberalities towards him, eſpecially to the late Lord Chancelor, whom he ſerued, and who had alwayes bin his eſpeciall good friend and fauorer. He followed a while the warres of Ireland, where hee behaued himſelfe ſo well, that hee was aduanced to honeſt degrees in her Maieſties ſeruice, ſuch as among ſouldiers are accounted honorable, and of reputation: at length being brought thence, not wythout great ſuſpition of ill carrying himſelfe in matter of allegeance to her Maieſtie, yet hee found ſuch aſſured friends, that he did not onely recouer his libertie and freedom, but alſo taſted verie deeply of their liberalities, ſuch, as I thinke ſome of them, though verie honorable, ſcarcely euer vſed the like to anie, and ingaged with theſe curteſies, which for euer would haue tied a thankfull minde, he was ſuffered to depart the realme. All which notwithſtanding

Iaques, Lieutenant Coronell to ſir W. Stāley

ſtanding, it is reported, that there is not anie beyond the ſea, that both run a more violent and vnreuerent courſe againſt the perſon of her Maieſtie, and the ſtate of our countrie than he doth, at which truly I do much wonder, how a mind not altogether void of reaſon and humanity, can ſuffer it ſelf to ſinke into ſo deepe a degree of ingratitude. Let him yet at length looke into his own conſcience, and if ſo many benefits receiued, claime not his fidelity and ſeruice, yet at leaſte let them keepe him from attempting villanie. I ſpeake this in reſpect of his owne good, and not that hee nor ten thouſand more ſuch as he is, is able to doo her Maieſtie or her realme a halfepenie worth of harme, for the mightie hande of God, and the approued valour of her faithfull ſubiectes are able, and wyll allways defend and protect her againſt whatſoeuer violence of whoſoeuer her malitious enemies, who hetherto haue done her no farther harme, than them ſelues to periſh and to be confoũded in their owne deuiſes, and I hope it ſhall neuer be otherwiſe. But as for *Iaques*, if hee will needs run on his deſperate courſe, forgetfull of the oaths and proteſtations he made when hee departed out of *England*: let him likewiſe attend that ſcourge and puniſhment which euer followeth ſuch infidelitie.

As for the other Captains and Gentlemen that haue anie true Engliſh bloud in them, let them yet (for they are thoſe to whom I chiefly intend my ſpeeches) looke with a diſcreeter iudgment into the depth of their eſtates, let them not tire out their yeres and youth in ſo comfortleſſe and vnrewarded a ſeruice, the end whereof is neuer other than vntimely death, deſolation, or beggerie: let them not truſt themſelues to ſleep in the boſome of a flattering ſtepmother, that holdeth a knife in her hand to cut their throates, when they may ſecurely throw themſelues

into the armes of a louing naturall mother, that will receiue them, comming like penitent & obedient children, with true teares and perfect ioy. Let them cast backe their eyes vpon the glorie and greatnesse of her Maiestie, theyr soueraign Princesse, who in deed is a true and louing mother to vs all, let them but looke into the happie and blessed estate of their natiue countrie, and finally consider the dutie they doo owe vnto them both. They are not yet so farre past, but that theyr submission may be receiued, yea and such seruices they may do, highly rewarded too.

But leauing these digressions, to which I know not what zeale transporteth mee, iudge nowe (I praie you) what reward, honour, and aduancement you may expect of the king of Spaine, that neuer deserued of him anie fauour or good vsage, when you see these men suffered to perish, & that in so miserable estate, that haue done him so many, so great, and so waightie seruices. But perchaunce you will saie, hee hath dealte better with priuate men than he hath done with those tumultuous militarie troupes: if you can name me but anie one that he hath raised or aduaunced to honor, or that liueth richly or wealthily in his seruice, I wil name you an hundred, that beeing Gentlemen of good houses and of worthy merit, haue consumed, languished, and bene brought to nothing in seruice, yea, and some of them perished and died for lacke of sustenance. You perchance will name *Hugh Owen*, and in good faith hee is the onely man that euer I knew aduanced, credited, or graced in his seruice: and yet (God wot) all that hee getteth is no more than to maintaine him in a meane estate or shew, with a man only or two to serue him: where on the other side, I will recken you vp of those that are onely for want of things necessarie, and of pure pouertie, consumed and dead, master *Dakers*, *Michael Tempest*, olde *Norton*, *Israel Harman*,

Hugh Owen

Sundry English Gentlemen of good houses y haue perished in the king of Spaines seruice,

Harman, Markenfield, Fremaine, Stradling, Henrie Carew, E. Alleh, Fleming, Suthwell, Bulmer, with sundrie others of good race and credit in their country.

But to recite vnto you the names of those that doo yet liue so poorely and vncomfortably in this pension, would bee a matter too tedious, and therefore take them all in general, *Charles Paget* onely excepted, who came wel furnished with crownes out of England, and likewise inherited many good things that my Lord *Paget* lefte vnto him at his death, and examine them one from another from my Lorde of *Westmerland* downe euen to the verie lowest, and if there be in the whole world a more miserable and discontented troupe of Gentlemen, let mee neuer be credited in anie thing else that I shall tell you. And because you shall your selfe the better iudge, I will tell you what paiment they haue of such pensions as the king hath giuen them.

They had granted them at Bruges the first daie of August, in the yere one thousand fiue hundred eightie eight, a general *Liberança*, to receiue three moneths paie a peece of their pensions. But first before I go anie further, I think it verie necessarie to let you vnderstand what manner of thing this *Liberança* is of which I speake, to the ende that you may bee acquainted with the inuentions and craftie delayes that they vse in this matter of payment: for if you haue not especiall fauour, it wyll be sixe moneths after the graunt thereof, doo what you can, afore it will bee fully signed, and in estate for to demaund your money. A *Liberança*, is a bill of assignation for the receit of money, graunted to some one in particular, or to two or three ioyntly, or a hundred or more, as occasion shall require: it is first drawen, & vnderneath signed by the chiefe Secretarie that attendeth on the Generall: it is directed

What manner of paiment that is that is granted by waie of Liberança.

by the Duke vnto the Treaſurer generall, commaunding him to paie the ſame of whatſoeuer money hee ſhall haue within his charge, but firſt to ſee that the ſame be peruſed and regiſtred in both the offices of the two *Contadores* of the armie, and ſigned with their names and rubrikes, and then that it be likewiſe regiſtred, peruſed, and rubrikt by the *Veedor* generall, and ſigned with his name. After this he expreſſeth the cauſes that moueth him to grant the ſumm of monie to the partie that bringeth the *Liberança*, wyth many other particularities. This is the manner of a *Liberança*, without which there is not there any paiment made of monie to anie man, vnleſſe it bee by ſecret billets from the generall, which are but ſeldome, and that vpon ſecret and ſodaine cauſes, as trecherie, intelligence, or eſpiall, or ſome ſuch baſe matter as requireth ſecrecie, and not to be delaid. The words of ſuch billets are to command the treaſurer to paie vnto the bringer for ſecrete ſeruices, ſo much monie as is therin expreſſed: which without more words being ſigned with the Dukes hand, is preſently diſpatched. As for the *Liberança*, which is the ordinarie and vſuall kind of paiment, after that by tedious labor and ſolicitation, a man hath in ſix moneths ſpace gotten al their hands, yet in a manner hee is neuer the neerer, for ſome of them are neuer paid, and ſcarcely anie till they bee two or three yeeres old: if in the meane time the partie looſe his *Liberança*, there is no recouerie of a new by anie meanes poſſible: if he die, no benefit thereof riſeth to his wife, children, or heires, for a *Liberança* is neuer paide but perſonally to him in whoſe name it is firſt granted. If it be with long carriage fretted, or the names of thoſe that ſigned it obſcured, it is a ſufficient cauill to fruſtrate the paiment, inſomuch that one *Camel*, a Scotchman, came with a fair peece of parchment in his hand, to *Coſmo* the Secretarie, humbly deſiring

The Veedor is as it were a cenſor or ouerſeer of all the other officers, and is a man of great & principall dignitie.

Paiment by ſecret billets.

A pretie ieſt of one Camell a Scotchman.

deſiring that his *Liberança* might be therein ingroſſed, for in paper hee was ſure it woulde bee worne out before hee ſhould recouer the paiment.

Such a *Liberança* (I ſaie) as this was granted to the Engliſh penſioners in the yeere abouesayd, for three moneths paie, of which till October in the yeere 1590. I am ſure they had not receiued one pennie, howe long they ſtayde without it afterwards I know not, for of later time I cannot giue anie ſo certaine aſſurance, onely the common report is, that things there are not much bettered, but now eſpecially ſince the D. of Parmas death much impaired.

Their neceſsitie was great, and they ſolowed the Duke from towne to towne, importunatly requiring payment, but eſpecially they neuer left *Coſmo*, the Dukes Secretarie in quiet, who to rid himſelfe of their troubleſome importunities, addreſſed them to *Baptiſta Spinola*, a Genoueſe Banker dwelling in *Antwerp*, giuing them his Letter, and ſending the ſame by one *Henrie Haſlewood*, requeſting him to releeue thoſe diſtreſſed Engliſh gentlemen, and to buy their *Liberança*, which he doubted not but they would ſel good cheap, greatly to his profite: the whole ſumme was ten thouſand crownes, which *Coſmo* promiſed him ſhould bee allowed and paſſed in the reckoning which hee had with the king. *Haſlewood* in the name of the reſt offered him the ſayd ſumme for ſixe thouſand: but *Spinola* vtterly refuſed the ſame, ſaying hee woulde not take it for two thouſand: and withall he deſired that he might not meddle any more with the king, wiſhing that he had not medled with him ſo much. So that they were faine to returne poore and pennyleſſe, and did in that inſtant of which I ſpeake, liue in ſo poore and pittifull a ſorte, that truely it was a griefe to ſee it: inſomuch that I knew a Gentleman that ſolde his part there amounting to foure and twentie

pounds, for three poundes. But perchance you will ſaie, hee giueth great penſions, and intertaineth many of our nation. It is true in deed, in ſhew he doth bleare the worldes eies, with an apparance of great liberalitie. But his paiment and vſage conſidered, (I proteſt vnto you that I ſpeake vnfainedly (I doo not know anie eſtate of life in England ſo meane, which I do not much preferre before being heere a penſioner to the king of *Spaine*. I leaue the iudgement of the truth heereof to thoſe that haue tried it: you haue many of them amongſt you, conferre with them, and examine them vppon theyr conſcience. As for my part, in good faith I cannot imagin the cauſe why hee intertaineth vs, vnleſſe it be to vſe vs as ſtales to allure others, conſidering the hatred that he and his beareth vs, and ſo vnder the diſſembled colour of a falſe affection, at length to ouerthrow vs all.

Thus much I dare boldly ſaie, becauſe through the conference that I haue had with them I doo knowe it aſſuredly, that euen thoſe of our nation which doo moſt ſerue his turne, howſoeuer in outward apparance they ſeeme for ſome particular cauſes to magnifie and extoll his liberalitie, yet in theyr owne ſecret conceites they doo imagine and knowe nothing in the worlde to bee more reproachfull, baſe, and contemptible, than to bee an *Entretenido* in the king of *Spaines* ſeruice, eſpecially if he ſerue not in the warres, and haue his entertainment aſſigned him in ſome companie or other, which fewe or none of our Countrymen haue, chiefely thoſe of the better ſorte. As for thoſe that haue their penſions granted them to follow the court without anie obligation of ſeruice, as in a manner all the penſions granted to the Engliſhmen are, the Spaniſh ſouldier maketh the moſt baſe and contemptible reckoning of them that may bee, euen as of men that

liue by charitie, as our poore knightes doo at Windsore. But to the end you may in this point cleerely discerne the manner of their vsage, you must vnderstand that the king granteth two maner of pensions or extraordinarie paies, bestowing vpon men of desert either of them, as the occasion and qualitie of their seruice shall require: the one called by the name of *Entertainment*, and the other *Ventaia*, in the Patents wherevnder they be granted. The first which they call *Entertainment*, is such as is granted to our Countrymen, & to stragling Italians, and to cashierd captaines, such as are of best regard, and to strangers of other nations, who are neuer paid till the whole armie be satisfied, and al other occasions defraid, then if anie ouerplus remaine, which seldome happeneth, somewhat thereof perchance may come to their share. The pension is verie casuall, and hath often bin abolished and taken awaie quite, as well from the English as from all other nations: witnes *Charles Browne*, *Hugh Owen*, and *Ralfe Ligons*, that were fain foure yeeres since, vpon that occasion to go into Spaine, where after long and great sute, they brought downe order againe to haue the same renued, yet still commonly once a yere there comes an allarum among them, that the King will not bee anie longer at the charge of so manye pensions, and in daunger to bee turned out of paie. And some three or foure yeeres agone they were all commanded to go downe to the armie, and to put themselues in seruice vnder some companie, or otherwise not to expect anie pension or payment: which how vnfitting it is, & vnworthie to men brought vp in other courses, as most of them are, I leaue to your iudgement, yet the miserie of that bondage to which they haue subiected themselues, must indure all: and which is most miserable, must not complayne when they are striken.

English pensioners there vtterly scorned and vnregarded

The difference betweene two kindes of pensions or paimēts, which the king giueth to such as serue him, ỹ one called Entretenumēto, ỹ other Ventaja

The

The other paiment or penſion which is called *Ventaya*, as it is much more honorable, becauſe (though verie vſuall among the Spaniards and all other nations, ours excepted) yet they are neuer granted but vpon pretence of good ſeruice done, or ſome dueneſſe of deſert: they that haue them are more reſpectiuely regarded and better paid than the other, and they are neuer taken from them, ſo long as they followe the kings ſeruice. Many of our nation haue ſerued among the Spaniards, yet to this daie did I neuer knowe anie one graced with one of theſe *Ventayas*, though they are common to all other nations, yea euen to the Germanes, though graunted to them by the name of *Sobrepagas*, which in effect is all one.

If I were guiltie to my ſelfe, that this which I doo write were vntrue, I ſhoulde greatly feare the ſhame of reproſe in a matter ſo manifeſt, eſpecially ther being now in *England* many that are as well or beter acquainted with theſe matters than my ſelfe, and can contradict me where I erre. But grounding my ſelfe vpon the confidence of an aſſured truth, I cannot but wonder, theſe things being ſo, howe anie that hath the true feeling of that which pertaineth to the honor of a gentleman, can indure an vſage ſo ſcornful & contumelious as this which daily they receiue from the Spaniards: of which if you deſire one example for all, this may ſatiſfie you which followeth. At ſuch time as the D: of *Parma* laie at *Bruges*, buſie about his preparations for *England*, and attending the Spaniſh fleet, when they all expected to bee made knights, Coronels, Captaines, and conductors of the armie, and to be filled with crownes, they were ſo far from thoſe matters with which they flattered themſelues, that in ſted of being honored and aduanced, they were the only reiected & contemned people that followed the court, all nations els beeing releeued

The moſt contempible vſage of the Engliſh at Bruges,

leeued with ſome moneths paie, they onely excepted. And which is more, whereas they moued the duke ſundrie times to know his pleaſure, how he would diſpoſe of them in that iourney, telling him beſides, that vpon the well vſage of them depended much matter of importance, as the alluring and drawing vnto them other Gentlemen of their kinſmen and friends, who vpon hope of the like good vſage, honor, and aduancement, would be able to doo great ſeruice vpon their landing, wheras contrariwiſe ſeeing them come ouer ſo poore in ſhew, without credit, money, or armes, like lackies, (for ſo were the wordes of their requeſt) it woulde bee a cauſe to terrifie them from vndertaking of anie ſuch courſe: they were by the Duke ſcornfully and with derifion reiected, neither did he vouchſafe to giue them anie other anſwere, than onely that he would thinke vpon it. But on the night in which vpon the hurly burlie of the comming of the Spaniſh nauie, they thought to imbarke, he departed towards Donckerk, leauing them all behind, not thinking them anie way worthie to be called vpon, or to bee taken wyth him. Whereuppon the Earle of Weſtmerland, the Lorde *Paget*, and ſundrie of the better ſort, laid their heads together, and made their complaint vnto the Duke of *Paſtrana* (who was newly come out of Spaine with great fauours from the king, and there liued in great honour & applauſe among the Spaniards) but by him, ſome ſaie, they were as baſely and ſcornfully handled as by the other, The Spaniards did much diſdaine their aggrauation of their abilitie and meanes to facilite the kings interpriſe for *England*, inſomuch that one *Don Ambroſio*, a man of principall qualitie, asked them in cholet, whether they thought the king of Spaine not puiſant inough to winne *England* with out them and their friends. This euill intreatie wrought ſo

The D: of Paſtrana ſuppoſed to be the kings baſtard.

great an apprehenſion in my L. *Paget* (who both in regard of his fathers eſpeciall credit in times paſt with the king, as alſo of his owne qualitie & carriage, had preſumed vpon much better vſage) that he retired him ſelfe to *Bruſſels*, where, what with the conceit of this griefe, & what with other accidents, he ſhortly ended his life. Sir *W. Stanley* tooke it alſo in ſuch diſdainfull ſort, that he was not called to the counſell of the warres (whereas he preſumed and gaue out, that no man in the armie knew more, or was better able in this voiage than himſelf,) that he ſequeſtred himſelfe from the court, and comming diſcontented to *Antwarp*, there hired a houſe, where foure or fiue moneths hee liued full of melancholy and paſſion, making euident ſhewe that his minde was vtterly vnable to beare the burthen of ſo great an indignitie.

But whoſoeuer liueth there muſt bee contented to indure this and a great deale more, for the Spaniards will not be by anie meanes perſwaded, that thoſe of our nation liuing there with them are Gentlemen of good houſes, qualities, and liuing in *England*, but rather take them to be ſuch as the *Banditi* of Italy, men fled out of their Countrie for theft, debt, robbery, or manſlaughter, as a Captain of thē ſpared not plainly to tell ſir *W. Stanley* in the paſſage boat betweene *Antwerpe* and *Bruſſels*, ſaying that he could not but exceedingly wonder, what ſhould moue a man being rich, well deſcended, & of good liuing in his Countrye, to chaunge the ſame for the ſeruice of an oppoſite forayn Prince, ſwearing a great oath, that all the religion in the world ſhould not make him to do the like.

The ſpeeches of a Spaniſh Captaine to ſir W. Stanley.

Likewiſe a great companie of them ſtanding round together in a ring (as their maner is) vpon the mere Brigge in *Antwerpe*, & ſeeing certaine Engliſh gentlemen paſſe by, one

one of them, & he a Captaine, by name *Lucas*, well knowen by his redde beard, balde head, and maymed armes, sayde that hee wondered what the king made with anie such vermine in his Countrie. Another of them sware a great oath, that looke how manie English men there were in the kings seruice, ther were so many spies and traitors: the third said it were an almes deed to put them al in sacks & to throw them into the riuer: but the fourth verie gently replied, that it would be a better course to send them downe to the kings gallies, where in regarde of their big ioynts & broad shoulders, they could not but proue good tuggers at an oare. But these beeing but the speeches of priuate men, might the better bee borne, were they not confirmed by men of greater sort: which whether it be so or no, aske *T Throckmorton*, who talking with *Iuan de Lasture*, the kings treasurer general, one day vpon the wals of *Brussels*, wondred why the king hauing such pretences for England, made no more reckoning of such Englishmen as followed him, who in regard of their parentage and inteligence might bee able to doo him great seruices, if they were hartned with somwhat better vsage: whereas now by reason of their pouertie and drouping, they were not fit for anie thing. To which the treasurer replied, that he was not ignorant of the estate, qualitie, and condition of all such Englishmen as followed the king, but for his part (swearing a Spanish oath or two) he knew not any one of them in regard of ability to do the king seruice, worth the straw that lay vnder his foot.

The monstrous hatefull speeches of the Spaniardes, condemning such of our nation as serued among them.

Speeches of the treasurer generall to Thomas Throckmorton

The like answere in a manner was giuen by Francesco *Blancocauallo*, his vizetreasurer in Antwerpe, to Captaine *Bernay* & other Gentlemen, who being denied by him the paiment of certaine monie they demanded, & speaking of

the ſeruices they had done vnto the king: hee anſwered, that he knew not what ſeruices they had done, or were able to doo, vnleſſe it were to ſpend the kings monie in tauernes and brothell houſes. The like they receiued from *Sammariba*, the *Veedors* chiefe officer, but that the ſame was accompanied with worſe effects. For captaine *Barney* laying hand on his rapier, making proffer to reuẽge the hardnes of ſuch ſpeeches as were offred him, was preſently inuironed among them, and runne thorough the doublet in a place or two, not without exceeding danger of his life.

A pretie ieſt betweene captaine Smith and the treſurer generall

But by the waie I thinke it not amiſſe to tell you a mertie accident that fell out betweene the treaſurer and Captaine *Smith*, an Engliſhman ſpoken of before in this Treatiſe, who being one daie well tipled, came in all haſt to demand his monie of *Iohn de Laſture*. He ſeeing him come in that vnreuerent ſort, grew ſo farre gone with choler, as the other was with wine, & reuiled him by many foul names, as *Perro*, *Luterano*, *Berachio*, &c. *Smith* had not a worde of Spaniſh, nor anie other language but a litle Dutch, wherin he requited the treaſurer in as ſnarling tearmes as hee could, calling him *Honſcont*, *Schellam*, & *Turke*. Wherwith the treaſurer came in great rage, and woulde haue thruſt him downe the ſtaires, but *Smith* drew out his dagger, & had without doubt miſchieued him, if Coronell *Boid* and other Scottiſh Gentlemen that were there preſent as Sutors for monie, had not come betweene them. The matter came before the Duke, who as alwaies hating *I. de Laſture* exceedingly, made but a ieſt of it, and *Smith* beeing ſober ſubmitted himſelfe, imputing his fault to the wine, and ſo the matter was ended.

I could recite vnto you a thouſand the like thinges as theſe, but they are not worthie the remembring. Returning therefore to my purpoſe. They are ſo iealous & ſuſpi-

tious

tious of vs, that if anie thing prooue vntowardly in theyr seruice, they thinke it straight to bee done by our especiall meanes and intelligence, as vpon the taking of Axhill by that honourable and worthie souldier sir *Phillip Sidney*, *Mondragon* presently imprisoned *Pigot* within the castle of Gaunt, tooke away all things whatsoeuer he had worth anie thing, and the rest he caused his men to rifle & steale, saying openly that we were all traitours and spies. And if you desire further confirmation of the good opinion and confidence they haue in vs, tell mee what companies of English they haue trusted within these ten yeeres in garrison, I am sure you cannot name one. And whereas sundry English Gentlemen haue instantly sued to haue their pensions granted them in the castles of Antwerp or Gant, because the paiment is there somewhat better, no one hath hetherto bene able to obtaine the same, so base and of no regard is the estate in which they liue. I could alleage vnto you many other examples of mightie wrongs and disgraces offred vnto our nation, wherby they might (if they list) easily discouer the hatred the Spaniard beareth them, the suspitious iealousie with which they ouerlooke them, and the danger wherein they stand to haue one daie all their throates cut. And that this hard dealing and hatred of theirs proceedeth not of anie demerite of the English, but of a rooted and ingrafted mallice of the Spaniards to our whole nation, may by many actions of theirs be proued and made manifest. For whensoeuer the fortune of the warres hath deliuered anie of vs into their handes, it is straunge to thinke with what greedie and insatiable thirst they haue desired to shed English bloud. As for example: At Rosendale, where sundrie English regiments beeing by the Marshall *Biron* abandoned and betrayed, were by them defeated and ouerthrowen, it is scarcely credible

The exceeding iealousie of the Spaniards ouer the English that serue amongest them.

The crueltie of the Spaniards at Rosendale.

what barbarous crueltie they vſed vpon men rendred, & demanding mercie vpon their knees. But admit al cruelty tolerable during the fury of an execution (though among chriſtians, & men of noble & valorous minds there is yet a moderation to bee vſed) what bloudy inhumanitie was euer heard the like to that which they vſed the next daie? For whereas the Italians and Burgonians (moued with a ſoldierly compaſsion) had taken many Engliſh priſoners, and ſaued them from the former ſlaughter: vpon the next mornings march, as they brought them forth, thinking to leade them quietly home to their quarter, the Spaniards with a helliſh furie, cryingMatta, Matta, drew their rapiers, and murthered with many wounds theſe poore naked men, not ſuffering a man of them to ſcape aliue.

Matta, Matta, Kill, Kill.

Their trecherie and cruelty at Graueling.

Likewiſe in that trecherous and Sinonicall practiſe of Graueling, wherein they thought to haue intrapped noble ſir *Phillip Sidney*, how cruelly and tyranouſly dyd they vſe thoſe poore men of ours that were ſent before to diſcouer if all were ſafe, according to promiſe, whome after they had receiued into their gates with friendly ſalutations, and intertained a good ſpace in the towne, in the end when they ſawe the ſucceſſe of the enterpriſe aunſwered not their bloudie, traiterous, and vnmanly expectation, they diſarmed and vncloathed them in the market place, and finally, like cruell butchers, and not like honourable ſoldiers, murthered them euery one. We haue not (thanks be to God) wanted occaſion many times ſince to cry quittance with them, as namely at the fort of Bergues, where by *Grimſtones* practiſe they were brought to the trap. Ther were Gentlemen of good worth there preſent, that aduiſed my Lord *Willoughby* to ſerue them with the ſame meaſure as they had ſerued the poore Engliſhmen at Graueling. But hee hauing euer in all his actions followed the

waie of honour, diſdained vnnobly to imbaſe his handes with the vnworthie bloud of men rendered, and vnable to reſiſt. Likewiſe, after the ouerthrowe of that their late Fleet (which before hand they tearmed *Inuincible*) when ſuch numbers of them were taken, that the priſons of London were not capable of them, if her Maieſtie would haue followed the example of their owne nation, ſhee might haue vſed them as *Don Iuan* did the Wallons after the battell of *Ieblours*, where taking verie neere two thouſand of them priſoners, the next daie after the battell hee cauſed them to bee bound two and two together, and to bee tumbled headlong ouer the bridge of Namures into the riuer of Meuſe. But her Maieſtie lyke a Chriſtian princeſſe, full of royall magnanimitie (though the miſchieuous intention of their comming, and the horrible cruelties that they pretended were not vnknowen vnto her) yet cauſed them to bee diſperſed into ſeuerall conuenient places, and there vppon her charge to bee prouided for: and laſtly, to bee ſent ouer into Flanders, accompanied with ſhips, artillerie, and ſufficient conuoy of men, to warrant their ſafetie by the waie. Likewiſe ſhe permitted thoſe that had beene caſt aland in Scotland, quietly to paſſe along her narrow ſeas, yea, and accompanied them with her ſafeconduit, though ſhe well knew that their ariuall in the low Countries could not but bee a great reenforcement to the weakned troupes of her armed enemie the Duke of Parma.

The cruelnie of the Spaniardes towards ỹ Wallons after ỹ battell of Ieblours.

The nobleneſſe & mercie of her maieſtye towards the Spaniſh priſoners.

The affection then of the Spaniard beeing ſuch towardes vs and our nation as you haue heard. I hope thoſe before remembred examples ſhall bee ſufficient to aſſure and perſwade you, that vnder the king of Spaines dominion and gouernment there is not anie wealth, honor, or aduancemẽt to be gotten, but contrariwiſe, pouerty, peril, ielouſie,

ieloufie, and diſgrace.

Now let vs ſee touching the pointes of conſcience & repoſe in religion, if the ſame be to be found heere, ſuch as you expect. In matter of religion I will not take vppon me to diſpute, but will leaue the deciſion thereof to men of greater abilitie. Onely for this time allowing your religion to bee good (which ſurely if it bring not forth better fruits, will hardly be proued to be the true tree) Let vs now come to the contentment which you might heere receiue in free vſage of the ſame, together with the conuerſation of ſuch other your countrymen as are heere of the ſame profeſſion and religion.

Diuiſions, factions, & partialties among the Fugitiues.

First, I thinke you are not ignorant of the diuiſions, partialities, & factions that are betweene them, which ſurely are ſuch, that I thinke ſcarcely in the world there is to bee found ſuch a diuided ſocietie of men, I ſpeake it not in reſpect of priuate quarrells and contentions, wherein they haue often wounded, maimed, and ſlain one another, but I meane in regard of different and long induring factions, wherein great partes of them are moſt malitiouſly oppoſite one againſt another, to the great preiudice & ſlaunder of them all. For you muſt conſider that there are foure ſorts of humours, of which each ſortes him ſelf to his ſemblable. The one, (& I name them firſt, for otherwiſe they would not take it well) pretend to be great ſtatemen and deepe polititians, theſe wil not vouchſafe to looke on anie other booke but ſuch as treate of high matter, pollicy, and gouerment, as *Bodins* Commonwealth, *Machiauels* prince, *Lipſius* his Politikes, *Manutius* his Lawes, and ſuch lyke. Neither is there anie of theſe, no not the leaſt, but thinkes himſelfe ſufficient to be a Magnifico of Venice. There is a ſecond ſort, wholy deuoted to the following and faction of the Ieſuites, ſeruing them as their eſpials & inſtruments

Foure factions or ſortes of humours among the Fugitiues.

Men of ſtate & pollicie

Ieſuiſted

in

in whatsoeuer they imploy them: these are verie hatefull to the rest, and are dangerous to conuerse withall, not so much in regard that anie of them are able to do a chips worth of harme, as of their willingnesse to do it if they were able. There are others, whome the rest generally in derision call by the name of Patriots, which is to saie, louers & affecters of their Countrie. These in deed, among all the rest, are men of the greatest temperance and best behauiour, who, howsoeuer they are in religion contrarily affected, yet you shall neuer heare them speake vnreuerently of her Maiestie, neyther truly do I thinke that in their hearts they wish her anie harme, at least-wise they are verie respectious in bewraying it either in word or action. I haue hearde some of them saie, that so they might bee suffered to returne into England, & to inioy the libertie of theyr conscience, they would bee contented to bee confined within the compasse of a poore cottage, and be bound neuer to come out of it while they liued.

Patriots: these men desire an al teratiō in our countrie, but do not desire that the same should bee doone with the Spaniardes.

But of the rest, the fourth & last are the best fellowes, for they flie but a verie low pitch, being men vtterly voide both of learning, wit, and ciuilitie, these the rest esteeme no otherwise of, than as of verie dunses, not fit for anie imployment. The farthest drifte of their religion is, to speake ill of the Queene, to say the Pope is a good man, & to thumpe their breasts hard when they come to Church: I knew one of them that hauing some times bene a pettie marchant in England, solde all that euer hee had, and puting two hundred poundes in his purse, went to Hierusalem to buy a pound of waxe candles, which hee brought home vppon his backe, and withall as much earth of the mount Oliuet as hee was able to carrie: imagining that euery dram thereof was able to cast out a legion of deuils. In regard of which reliques, vppon his returne to Brussels,

Idiots & dunces

hee obtained a pension, where hee still remaineth: and truly hee may bee a good man, for I thinke hee liueth in as great pouerty as euer did any of the Apostles, though perchance not so voluntary: but the best is, he wil not giue his best friend the least mite of his holy things, saying that he reserueth thē to furnish the Churches in England, when they shall come one daie to be Catholique, and hath alredie appointed what Churches they be that he meanes to make beholding vnto him for this high benefit.

I would haue named the particular names of euerie one, according to the factions to which they are affected, but that I feare this last remembred sort would haue bene angrie with me: & withall, there is another respect or two besides: but aboue all these, there is one ouer-ruling faction, that hath drawen them into mightie partialities and straunge extremities one against another: The originall whereof sprong out of the Romish Seminarie betweene the English and the Welsh: either partie had for fauourer and protector a man of great authoritie to which it leaned, Doctor *Allen* for the one, and Doctor *Lewis* for the other, a man verie wise and learned, and by reason of his age, grauitie, and long continuance in those parts, of great authoritie in the court of Rome, and since in the later end of Pope *Gregorie*, created Bishop of Casano in Naples, but alwayes a verie bitter enemie to the Iesuits. In fine, each nation with all vehemencie labored for the presidentship and superioritie one ouer the other. The Welshmen pretended the first foundation of the Colledge to haue bene by a British King, for the perpetuall behoofe of his Countrymen. The Englishmen lykewise alleadging their reasons: but in the end, doo what they could, they were by the Welshmen caused to auoid the house. Whereuppon (with their fardles vppon their neckes, as beeing readie to depart-

Contention betweene D. Lewis and D: Allen

depart the towne) they presented themselues vnto Pope *Gregorie*, whome with a lamentable Oration they moued to take such compassion of them, that hee caused them to returne, taking (to their ful contentment) order betweene them and their aduersaries. Notwithstanding which reconciliation, there still remained a great hart-burning and dislike. Shortly after Pope *Sixtus* determining to make a Cardinall of our Nation, there grewe for the same great competencie betweene Doctour *Lewes* and Doctour *Allen*, each one for the obtaining thereof applying his best friends to the vttermost. But in the end thorough the instant pursuit of the Iesuites, who spared no trauell nor expence, they procured vnto Doctour *Allen* such mightie friends, that the lot and preheminence of this dignitie fell vpon him, of whom, and of the Iesuites, and of their faction, were for euer mortally hated, all those that had beene anie waie fauourers or well willers to Doctour *Lewes*: but chiefly and among the rest, one *Thomas Morgan*, a man not inferiour to anie of them all in driftes of pollicie, who had bene sometimes secretarie to the Scottish Queene, & in deed had instantly laboured in the behalfe of D: *Lewes*. The Iesuites since haue had many a plucke at him, but *Morgan* being wise, strengthned himselfe alwaies with such friends, that they could neuer doo him anie hurt, but rather euer now and then he gaue them a secret blow: he drew wholy into his faction the Lord *Paget*, the Bishop of Dunglane, a Scotchman of great credit and grauitie, *C. Paget*, *Thomas Throckmorton*, *Ralfe Liggons*, and sundrie other that esteeme themselues to be of the better sort. Notwithstanding all which, so effectuall and forcible were the meanes with which they practised against him, that they got him to be imprisoned in *Paris*, laying to his charge that he was an intelligencer for sir *Frances Walsingham*, a traitor

Cõpetencie betweene D. Lews & D: Allen for ỹ Cardynalship

Morgan hated of the Iesuites

The names of those that held part w Morgan

to the ſeruice of the Queene his miſtres, and from time to time a diſcouerer of her practiſes, & withall procured the ſayd Queene to conceiue exceedingly ill of him, & taking the receiuer-ſhip of her dowrie in Fraunce from him, to beſtow the ſame vpon the Biſhop of Roſſe. Yet for all this *Morgan* found ſuch friends in the court of Rome, that by the Popes expreſſe commandements directed from time to time to his *Nuntio*, then reſident at Paris, hee was ſet at libertie, and thereupon began to make his iuſtifications to the world, and withall bitterly to inueigh againſt his aduerſaries, and the wrongs which they had done him. Likewiſe at that inſtant there was a book printed in Paris, publikely accuſing the Ieſuites of many wicked practiſes and moſt malitious impieties, of which they ſuſpected *Morgan*, and ſure I thinke it was his worke, but they could neuer apparantly proue it againſt him. Therefore ſeeing that they had in this failed, they determined to take their reuenge by another courſe: to effect the which they vſed as an inſtrument a yong Gentleman called *Gage*, whome by many practiſes they ſuborned and incenſed thereunto: the manner whereof was as followeth. *Morgan* being come downe into the lowe Countries in companie of the Lord *Paget*, and his brother *Charles*, hauing bin one night late at euening ſeruice in the church of S. *Gudula* at Bruſſels, was as he came downe the Church ſtaires encountered in the darke by *Gage*, & by him grieuouſly wounded in the face. Who thereupon preſently fled, thinking that he had ſlain him, but afterwards by the meanes and earneſt purſuit of the L. *Paget*, was apprehended. The Ieſuits and their party ſeemed at the firſt ſtiffly to denie that they had bin the cauſers of this fact, but the ſequell of their proceedings made it moſt apparant to the whole world. For when *Morgan*, the L. *Paget*, and diuerſe other of his friends labored verie

Morgan wounded by Gage, ſuborned therunto by the Ieſuites.

earnestly, and with petitions vnto the Duke, to haue the rigour and seueritie of iustice to proceed against him by whom this great violence was offered, they first laboured for reconciliation, which being flatly refused, then to stop the plaintifes mouthes, & preuent such mischiefes as they feared might insue, they found no better means than once againe to accuse *Morgan* of treason, laying to his charge sundrie points of trechery, as well in former matters concerning the Scottish Queene, as also the seruice & person of the Duke of *Parma*. Besides, they accused him to haue bin a setter on of *Gifford* & his confederates, in such practises as they had vndertaken by sir *F. Walsinghams* warrant and setting on, and to that end they sent *Chriton* the Scottish Iesuit to *Paris*, to take *Giffords* examination, whose imprisoment they had there procured: & withall, they caused all such as any way relied vpon them, to take their oath before the auditor generall, that in their conscience they thought *Morgan* to be a traitour and a spie: vnto the taking of which oath also they laboured earnestly with sundrie others, which (they not hauing their consciences so saleable) refused & vtterly denied to do: yet in the meane time while these things were in hand, they wroght so with their forged accusations, that *Morgan* was clapt close prisoner in a miserable dungeon, called the *Truerenborche*, where till the D. of *Parmas* death he remained: at which time, as it is sayd, he was set at liberty, and liueth now with the Bishop of *Casano*. Vpon his apprehension there were aboue thirty seueral cyphers found in his closet, in which abroad in the world hee corresponded with great personages: and withall, a Letter which he had newly written to the Bishop of Dunglane, verie defamatorie against the person of the Duke of *Parma*: which incensed the Duke exceedingly against him, & was, without doubt, the chiefest

Morgan accused by the Iesuites of treason.

feſt cauſe of his long impriſonment, for otherwiſe it is thought he would eaſily haue ouerpaſſed the calumniation of the Ieſuits. In fine, theſe two factions haue ſought to ouerthrow one anothers credit in the chiefeſt courts of chriſtendome, opening of either ſide ſuch foule matters, and toſſing to and fro ſuch filthie and ſlanderous defamations, that al men crie out againſt them both, holding them to be traitors, & men of no fidelitie. So that vndoubtedly I cannot but thinke him diſtracted of his wits, that hauing meanes to liue elſe where quietly, will make himſelfe a partie in theſe partialities and contentions, which whoſoeuer liueth there muſt needs doo or elſe like an enemy to them both be ruſht like a ſhip between two tempeſts. But the pretieſt ieſt of al is, to ſee how ſmoothly they handle the matter with you in England, abuſing your ſimplicitie with the ſubtiltie of their words, and the holynes of their apparance. They make you and the other Catholikes of England beleeue, that what practiſes and drifts ſo euer they take in hand, are all for the zeale of religion and aduancement of the Catholike cauſe. And you ſilly ſoules thinke all they ſaie to bee Goſpell, whereas (God wot) religion is the leaſt matter of a thouſand that they thinke vppon. The onely point they aime at, beeing loſt companions at home, is to make themſelues great where they are, and that by making you hazard your liues, reputations, and credites, and to that end they are alwayes breeding of practiſes and conſpiracies, both within and without the realme, caring not what ſucceſſe they take: if they proue well, then they will haue the praiſe, merite, honor, and rewarde thereof; if otherwiſe, then they ſaie their good will muſt bee accepted, in greate matters the attempt is ſufficient. And thereby they thinke to win the reputation to be accounted great ſtate men and

The drift of the Engliſh traitors abroad:

contri-

contriuers of waightie matters, not caring in the meane time for the securitie of them by whom they worke, as appeareth by the example and fall of many braue Gentlemen of England, whom by their trecherous practises they haue brought to ruine and destruction. They verie well knew that when they first began to set abroach the matter of *Babbington* and his disloyall confederates, that the effecting thereof in such sorte as they had plotted it, was altogether vnpossible, as *Mendoza* the Spanish Embassador, told *Ballard* the priest, their instrument in contriuing the same, when he was at first in Paris brought vnto him by *Charles Paget*, to desire him to informe the king his master of their intention, and withall, that at a daie appointed there might be a force and assistance of men redie to correspond with them. But that was all one, so they might be accounted men of great reach, and dealers in such high state matters, they spared not to proceede in inchaunting those poore vnexperienced young Gentlemen, neuer leauing till they had brought them to their ends, to the vtter ruine of them & their houses, in such sort as to the whole world is manifest, and needs not to be recited.

Babington and his confederats.

Let therefore all the Gentlemen of England, especially the Catholiques (who in regard of their religion and credulitie, are by them likeliest to be insnared) take heed and beware of hauing anie thing to do with this pestilent and factious race of people, for they speake so deuoutly, looke so smoothly, and write with such counterfeited grauitie and holinesse, that it is hard for anie man to eschue their deadly baites, vnlesse he do first know the falshood & trecherie vnder which they doo colour and shroude them. What else hath intangled M. *Shelly* in these extreame calamities? What likewise brought the late Earle of Northumberland (who neuer before was once detected of the least

M. Shelly
The late Earle of Northumberland

leaſt diſloyaltie towards his prince and countrie) into ſo great troubles and diſtreſſes, and finally to ſo tragicall and deſpairefull an end, but onely theſe outlandiſh practiſes, & their conference with counterfeit *Mope*, who was ſent out of France by this ſeditious troupe, to the end to ouerthrow both the one and the other?

Charles Paget

What beſides hath bin the cauſe of bringing ſo many other Gentlemen to the loſſe of their liues and liuinges, that liued before in eaſe, repoſe, and ſecuritie of conſcience? And which is more, were not they the only contriuers of the death of the Queen of Scotland, by ſetting her in continuall practiſe one vpon another againſt the ſacred perſon and royall eſtate of our moſt gracious Soueraigne, the Queenes maieſtie, ſo that of violent neceſsitie, her maieſtie, though tardif, vnwilling, and with great griefe, at the generall and inſtant petition of all her moſt louing and faithfull ſubiects (whoſe only weale and comfort dependeth vppon her long life and proſperitie) to ſatisfie them, and to preſerue the eſtate of her noble and floriſhing realme in quiet, was conſtrained to ſecure the ſcepter in her owne handes, by taking awaie the lyfe of her that ſought to wreſt it from her: though how much the noblenes of her mind was therewith agrieued, the whole world that hath knowen anie thing of her proceedings therein, either before or after, can be a witneſſe. I ſaie not this onely of my ſelfe, though I and all the world elſe doo know it to be true, that theſe their dealings haue made them hatefull and deteſtable euen to thoſe of their owne religion, inſomuch that a French Ieſuit tearmeth them all in generall, in a book which he hath written touching the Queen of Scotlands death, a viperous, miſchieuous, and faithleſſe kind of people, trecherous to thoſe they deale withall, diſdainfull, arrogant, ambitious, and worthie to be exterminated

The Queene of Scotland

The cenſure of a French Ieſuite concerning the Engliſh Fugitiues

ned out of the vtmoſt bounds of the world: beſides many ſuch other goodly epithetes, with which he beutifies thē in their colours: his whole booke beeing nothing but railing againſt Engliſh fugitiues, wiſhing all princes, noble men, and gentlemen whatſoeuer, to beware & take heed of them, and that in ſuch earneſt, vehement, & inuectiue manner, that it is not poſſible to be more.

And yet for all ſo many tragicall ends of their bloudy and traiterous indeuours, are they moued with anie the leaſt ſparke of repentance? Neither hath the ruine of ſo many of you their countrimen, wrought and contriued by their practiſe, allurement, and perſwaſion, bred in them anie feeling of remorſe or conſcience, but rather thereby animated and incouraged to ſet new conſpiracies & treaſons abroach, with meaning in deed by ſowing ſeditions among you, and by oppoſing you againſt the ſtate, to make you the onely inſtruments one of the others ruine, and ſo to make the way open to the Spaniſh tyrant. I will not ſpeak any thing of their infinit former practiſes, as wel in Ireland as within this realme, againſt the perſon of her maieſtie, the quietnes of either country, wherin ſtil their inſtruments haue by violent endes miſerably periſhed: which deſolations procured by their onely practiſe (but that they are vtterly voide of all chriſtian humanity) might haue ſerued to perſwade them, that God is not pleaſed with their actions: or at leaſt the bloudie quarters of ſo many Gentlemen as the ſwoorde of iuſtice from time to time (conſtrained by their horrible attēpts) hath diuided and diſperſed about the wals and turrets of London, and other places in this Realme, might haue ſtroken a terrour into their mindes, neuer more to hazard the liues of their countrymen, in ſo wicked & tragical an enterpriſe. But no whit at all are their vncharitable & ſtonie harts herewith

touched, but rather ſtill incenſed more & more to practiſe the deſolation of this noble realme, and the death of our moſt deare and dreaded Soueraigne, no whit at all regarding the greatnes of her maieſty, the ſame being of all other nations had in ſuch regard and reuerence, nor the tendernes of her ſex, which euen amongeſt the moſt barbarous nations, hath bin alwaies a ſafegarde againſt violence: nor laſtly the ſhining brightnes of her vertue, which hath moued the remoteſt regions of the world to admire her, and the greateſt princes liuing, ſome by them ſelues, ſome by their ambaſſadors, to offer her all honor, ſeruice, and reuerence. Al this notwithſtanding, theſe men, according to the confeſſion of their inſtruments lately executed, keepe a ſolemne councell table, wherein nothing is handled but new and daily practiſes for the ſhortning of her Maieſties moſt glorious life, though they ſee how miraculouſly God bleſſeth and defendeth her, and that as the giantes which did ſhoote againſt heauen, they are ſtill wounded with the fall of their owne arrowes.

Holt the Ieſuite chiefe preſident of this damnable crew.

The obſtinacie of the Engliſh traitors

What followed of their late practiſe with that worthy and honorable gentleman, *Ferdinando* late Earle of *Darby*, but onelie that it brought poore *Heskets*, their inſtrument for execution thereof, to the gallowes, who bitterly with teares bewailed their acquaintance, and naming ſir *William Stanley* and others, curſed the time that he euer had knowen anie of them

Heskits ſent by them to practiſe with Ferdinãdo Earle of Darby

But all had bin well, if his death onely, or the death of a thouſand more ſuch traitors, had concluded the tragedie, ſo that the noble Earle had not likewiſe with his fall, giuen all England cauſe to crie out vpon them, for when they had once fully diſcouered the loyaltie of his affection towards her Maieſty, and the hatred that hee bare to them and their faction, either of which he well teſtified

by the apprehenſion of *Heskis*, hee came ſhortly afterwards to the end of his life, whether by their practiſe or no, God knoweth, and time will diſcouer. But that ſo it was (the circumſtance of the matter, and the accidents of his ſicknes conſidered) there is nothing more likely.

Cullen, Yorke, and Williams.

Hauing herein failed, preſently they ſet new inſtruments aworke, as *Cullen* the Iriſhman, *Yorke*, and *Williams*, promiſing great rewards, and giuing the inſtruction how they ſhuld behaue themſelues vpon the landing, for the better accompliſhing thereof, but the end was, that after hauing confeſſed al the circumſtances of this hateſull act, and the names and meanes of them that laboured them thereunto, and curſed the authors and contriuers of the horrible treaſon by them intended, they ended their liues at Tiborne, and their quarters were diſperſed about the gates of London. But ſome may perchance demand of me what their meaning herein may be, or what credite, commoditie, or gaine might haue allured them to enter in theſe beforeſayd ſo wicked and deteſtable machynations For anſwere hereunto: firſt I told you that ſo they might bee accounted and reputed for great ſtate-men, high ſpirited, and of deep action, to procure that reputation & credit, they care not whoſe eſtate of life they indanger. But beſides this alſo which wee haue alreadie ſpoken of, they haue alſo farther meanings and driſtes, as thoſe that do looke deepleſt and with greateſt heedfullnes into theyr actions do verily imagine, hauing by ſundrie their proceedinges euidently diſcoured the ſame: of which the chiefeſt is, that as they are of all people liuing the moſt ambitious, ſo ſeeing this beggerly ſeruice doeth not fit their humors, they do feed themſelues with an imagination of the time to come, I mean a *Spaniſh* or *Romiſh* world in our Countrie, at which time they doubt not the long

Another driſte of the Engliſh fugitiues.

time of their exile, ſufferance, & loſſe of their liuings conſidered (for ſo is their phraſe and manner of ſpeech) to become mightie and great men, and to haue principall dignitie, ſwaie, and authoritie in our Countrie. Marie againe on the other ſide, conſidering that the moſt part of them are but baſe defamed companions, of no birth or liuing, and that there are in England many Gentlemen of the ſame religion of great qualitie and houſes, that would diſdaine to haue ſuch mates preferred before them in ranke, qualitie, or degree: They haue gone by all meanes poſſible they can, about with their practiſes and colourable deuices to root them out, ſo ſeruing their owne turne two wayes: the one to win vnto themſelues the name & reputation of men of ſeruice, the other to rid out of the waye thoſe that they imagine would ſtand in competency with them, but (God be thanked) the chiefeſt harmes their conſpiracies haue done hetherto, hath bene to periſh in theyr owne deuices. A little before the comming of the Spaniſh fleet, they ſent their eſpialls, and among them ſome that were prieſts, in diſguiſed garmentes, with inſtructions to ſound the meaning of ſuch Gentlemen as they thought to be fauorers of their religion, and to incline their minds to the Spaniſh cauſe, incouraging them to take armes againſt her maieſtie: to which they printed in the Engliſh tong many hundreds of bookes in Antwerpe, barrelling them vp vntill ſuch time as the armie ſhould haue bin landed, and then their meaning was to haue diſperſed them, expreſſing therein many great promiſes & large rewardes to ſuch as ſhould aſſiſt or do anie manner of ſeruice to the Catholike partie, terrifiing the reſt with bitter menaces. In fine, the whole being full of traiterous & proud threatning ſpeeches, as wel againſt her maieſty, as againſt al ſuch her faithfull ſubiects as ſhould haue taken her part. Likewiſe

Spies ſent by them into England

Seditious bookes printed in Antwerp

wise they obtained of the Pope and the king, that as many as had their voices in the parliament house at such time as the Queene of Scotland was adiudged to die, of what degree so euer they were, should bee depriued not onely of their liues and liuings, but that their posteritie also should bee for euer disinherited & disnobled. The like also they threatned in their bookes to all such, as well noble men as others, that should after the landing of the Catholique armie persist in armes against the same. But all this by the goodnes of God, hath but serued to discouer their wicked intentions, and to animate all true Englishmen, to persist with the greater loue, vnitie, and courage in obedience to her Maiestie.

Turning therefore my speeches to you, ô vnnaturall and degenerated Englishmen, to those whom you should obey trecherous and vnfaithfull, and of those that you do obey, contemned and made slaues: how can you indure to thirst after the destruction of so sweete a Countrie; in which you receiued your being, and that gaue you nouriture when you were young? Why do you abuse religion, in making the same a maske to your intended treasons? How can you finde in your heartes to seeke the destruction of so benigne a prince, and the subuersion of so glorious an estate, by bringing into the bowells thereof the barbarous armes of so insolent an enemy, who where he is victorious staineth the earth with bloud, the ayre with blasphemie, and the heauens with his abhominable and luxurious incontinencies: let Flanders, Portugal, Hispaniola, and the other prouinces of India be witnes. The olde worthie Romanes thought it the most heroicall thing that might bee, to vowe themselues sometimes to death for their countrie, and euen to spend their liues in defence of their altars, temples, and monuments of their

The two Decij. Tit. Liu.

elders: but you ſeeke to ſee your Countrie bathed in the bloud of your parents, kindred, and friends, to ſee your cities, graues, and temples of your predeceſſors conſumed with fire, to ſee your virgins deflowred, your women raviſhed, & finally to bring the nobleſt of nations to a perpetuall ſlauerie and ſeruitude, yea, and that of the moſt cruell nation that liueth, a nation not fullie an hundred yeres ſince wholy they receiued chriſtianity, and as yet are in their hartes Pagans and Moores, from profeſſion of which they are onely reſtrained by the ſeuere bridle of their cruel & ſanguinary inquiſition: which paganiſme of theirs, though in their ſpeeches they ſufficiently dare not manifeſt, yet do they in their abhominations diſcouer the ſame. If the *Numantines*, *Saguntines*, and *Neſſatians* burnt their townes, ſlew their wiues & children, & finally themſelues, rather than they would receiue the yoake of worthie and vertuous nations that aſſailed them, what ſhould we then do, who our vertuous anceſtors haue left honored with the inuincible trophees of ſo many victories ouer great and mightie nations, yea ouer *Spaine* it ſelfe, rather than to indure the inſolent, wicked, and tiranous gouernment of that nation, whom all *Europe* hath in horror, leauing to our poſteritie after vs a perpetuall ſeruitude and bondage, as an euerlaſting memorie of our cowardiſe.

But leauing this vntil a fitter time, I hope that this already ſaid ſhall be ſufficient to make you cleerly and plainly vnderſtand, that there is not to be found among theſe diſſentions, partialities, conſpiracies and treaſons, that ſweetneſſe, libertie, and tranquilitie of conſcience which you expect and looke for, but rather turmoile, griefe, & diſtraction of minde, with a perpetuall grudging and remorſe of conſcience, ſcandalized with infinite examples of euill life, impietie, defamation, and periurie, on the one ſide of-

fenſiue

fensiue to her Maiestie and the state of your country, and on the other side subiected to the disdain and bitter scorn of the *Spaniard*, who howsoeuer hee respect the seruice, yet neuer regarderh the person of a traitor, as a great noble man in *Spaine* spared not to tell *Charles* the fift, when by him he was commanded to lodge the Duke of *Burbon* in his house at *Madryle*, saying that he would willingly obey his Maiesty, but protesting withal by a great oath, that he would set it a fire so soone as the Duke should bee out of it, for his predecessors had not built it to be an harbor for traitors. Likewise when *Christian var de Veque* had betraied, for a promised great pension, the castle of S. *Iben*, being one of the most important fortresses for Portugall, to this k. *Phillip* that now is: how and with what reward was he honored? Euen truly with such as a traitor deserueth, for being intertained a while with hope, tyll such time as the king saw himselfe absolute master of all, he was then for his paines banished, and confined to the wars of *Affrica* for ten yeres. The like vsage in a manner, receiued all his fellows that had betraied their lawful king, by deliuering such places as they held in gouernment, or by doing the king of *Spaine* any other seruice to the preiudice of *Don Antonio*, who when they came afterwards to demande recompence, were answered that the king did not vse to buy that which was his owne, and therefore wish them to take heed how they mentioned any such matter, least thereby they came to be called further into question.

The Spaniarde esteemeth seruice, but scorneth the traitour.

The answere of a noble man to Charles the fift

The kings recōpēce to Christiā Var de Veque, for betrayng to him the castle of S. Iohns in Portingal

Not much more pleasing was the speech that sir *W. Stanley* receiued from *Verdugo*, who hearing him one day with passion transported into violent speeches against his countrie, wished him to vse moderation, for though hee had offended his Country, his Country neuer offended him.

The speech of Verdugo to sir W. Stanley

Likewise

Likewiſe *Rowland Yorke* at dinner one daie with Count *Charles* of *Mansfelt*, at his houſe in *Bruſſels*, begining to vſe vnbeſeeming ſpeeches of her Maieſtie, was commanded by the Count to holde his peace, praying him thence forward to be better acquainted with the cuſtomes of his table, which did not giue anie man priuiledge to ſpeake vnreuerently of Princes. So that (as I ſaid) there is nothing more apparant than the ſcornfull account the Spaniard maketh of our perſons, howſoeuer for his owne purpoſe he imbraceth our ſeruices. But perchance ſome of you will ſay, it is not your intentions to ſerue him in his wars, or to meddle with anie matter of eſtate, but whereas hee hath now charitablie and liberally erected foure Seminaries for the behoofe of Engliſh ſtudents, there quietly to paſſe your time, and to apply your booke in one of them, not comming among theſe contentious fellowes I ſpeake of, nor ſo much as once to thinke of them. I do not much miſlike the ſimple ſincernes of your intention, but yet if I might counſell you, I would wiſh you to looke a litle better into the matter, before you ingage your ſelf in anie ſuch courſe. Wiſe men are not carried awaie with the apparance of thinges: but in matters that are doubtfull, doo alwaies ſuſpect the worſt. The worſt wine hath alwaies the faireſt Iuy-buſh: the fouleſt ſerpents lie vnder the beſt and rankeſt graſſe: and the birdes that flie vnto the baite without regarding the lime twigs, are eaſilieſt intangled. The Troians ſeeing the faire and fertill fieldes of *Sicilia*, bended thir oares thither, but *Alchimedes* cried vnto them to lanch awaie, for *Poliphemus* was there. Vndoubtedly the loue and zeale which the king ſeemeth to beare vnto thoſe of our nation is great, in inuiting them to ſtudie in his countries, and to that end preparing ſuch conuenient places for them. But I haue often hearde ſaie, that the fauning

Count Charles of Mansfelt to R. Yorke.

Two Seminaries erected by ỹ king in Spaine, one at Valladolid, the other at Siuill: and two in the low countries, the one at Doway, and the other at Saint Homars.

ning flatteries of an enemye are farre more daungerous than the frouning reprehenſion of a friend. *Ioab* killed *Abner* when he imbraced him, and the Syren ſings when ſhe allures to death. For to what elſe can I liken theſe fauours of the king of Spain, than to the ſongs of a Syren, or to the kiſſes of an enemie, vnder which he ſhadoweth the deep and deadly miſchiefe that he intendeth to our nation, and to none deadlier than to thoſe that imbrace his offers, ſuch I meane as do plant themſelues in his new erected colledges, of which (if we were not altogether blinded or rather cruelly bewitched with ſome magical ſorcery) the proofes are too apparant. For if it be for their good he allureth them thether, why then (if they attaine to ſuch degrees of learning as are fit for dignitie and promotion) doth he not aduance them to Biſhopricks, Deanries, Abpies, Chanonries, and other ſuch ſpirituall dignities as they are capable of? Oh no, there is no ſuch matter, he hath other waies in which he muſt imploy thē, which are ſuch as he well knoweth cannot coſt them leſſe than their liues, which though he ſhadow vnder other pretences, yet whē I haue declared the order thereof, I will leaue the reader to iudge of as it ſhall pleaſe him, for my part I conceiue as I haue written. Firſt, whoſoeuer commeth to applie his time in ſtudie in any of theſe Seminaries, muſt promiſe to take vpon him the orders of Prieſthood, when he ſhall be called vpon ſo to do, for I aſſure my ſelfe that the ſame rules are obſerued in his two new Seminaries of Spaine, as were at that of Doway and Rhemes, which were by his penſions there maintained. Likewiſe hee muſt ſolemnly make a vow of obedyence to his ſuperior, directly & without any contradiction, to go whether ſoeuer he ſhall ſend him, and to gouerne himſelf according to ſuch inſtructiōs as he ſhal receiue from him, & frō the ſame not to ſwarue,

The flatterie of an enemie more dangerous than the reprehenſiō of a friend.

The cauſe why ỹ king allureth Engliſhmen to his Seminaries.

though it ſhould coſt him his life. This ſuperior is alwaies one that abſolutely dependeth of the k. of Spaine, as did cardinall *Allen* and *Parſons*, who being abſolutely at his comandement, and ſo by conſequence alſo are all the inferiors, of which as any groweth to greater perfection than his fellowes, ſo is he ſooneſt choſen out to be ſent into England, there to perturbe the quiet of the realme, to ſow ſedition, to practiſe reuolts, and to alienate the minde of the ſubiects from obedience to her maieſtie, thereby to prepare a bridge for him, wherby he might make his enterie into the realme, in which action the poore inſtrument is aſſured ſtill to periſh: of which wee haue ſeen but too many examples, and I would to God we might neuer ſee more. But that our Countrymen whome God hath bleſſed with ſuch excellent gifts of learning & eloquence as ſundrie of them, would, if not turne the ſame to the ſeruice of theyr Prince and Countrie, and the comfort of their friendes, yet at leaſt not ſuffer themſelues to bee drawen into ſuch violent courſes againſt it, wherein they ſee God proſpers them not, iuſtice confoundeth them, and finally how ſoeuer they bee there canonized for martirs, our Chronicles, and all the ſtories of our time, will for euer, to the ſhame of their ſtocke and parentage, recorde them for traitors.

Here now you ſee the drifte of the king of *Spaine* in erecting theſe his Seminaries, and to what end he allureth you ouer, aſſuring himſelfe, that ſo long as he can with his faire ſhewes drawe anie of you thether, hee ſhall neuer want inſtruments to ſow ſedition in our Countrie, and to take vpon them the execution of whatſoeuer his miſchieuous indeuors. Flye therefore from the inchanted ſhoares, you that will not bee transformed into monſters. Thoſe that beheld the head of *Meduſa* were onely turned into

into ſtones, but theſe that are inſorcered with theſe Spaniſh inchantments, are transformed into ſhapes much more horrible and monſtrous: their hearts are alienated from their prince and countrie, their hands made inſtruments to write hateſull ſlanders, and defamatorie libels againſt perſons of great nobilitie and honor, yea and ſomtimes to hold a dagger wherewith to murther the Lords annointed, their tongues into trumpets, to arme men to rebellion, bloudſhed, and warres, and finally, whereas euerie age hath held it according to the ſaying of the Poet, *Decorum mori pro patria*, to be a comly thing to die for ones Countrie. Their liues (with ſuch furie are they poſſeſſed) are vpon euerie Spaniſh commandement, readie to be offered vp againſt the ſame as a ſacrifice.

The Spaniſh diſſembled friendſhip intendeth greater miſchief vnto vs, than euer did the hatred of anie other nation.

And this aſſure your ſelf, that this diſſembled Spaniſh friendſhip intendeth greater miſchief vnto vs, than euer did the apparant hatred of anie nation elſe whatſoeuer.

Bee wiſe therefore in time, and come not within the fatall enterie of this Dedalian labirinth, out of which onely *Theſeus* by good hap eſcaped, all the reſt that euer entred, were deuoured by the minotaure. The Italians haue a ſaiing, which me thinks may very well be applied to our nation, for ſuch Spaniardes as the king ſendeth to the warres of Flaunders, becauſe they are needy bare wretches, at the firſt taking vp, he ſendeth them to his garriſons of Naples, and Milain, there to be hartned and faſhioned a yeare or two, and then ſending a new ſupply of the like into their places, he paſſeth them awaie into Flaunders: and after when they are conſumed, for commonly they hold not aboue a yere or two, then he ſupplieth them with his Italiã gariſons, & ſo ſucceſsiuely ſeconds ſtill one with another, whereupon the Italians haue a prouerb, *In Italia gli ingraſſano, in Fiandra gli amaſſano*. Which can be better applied to none

To make them fat in Italy, to kill them in Flanders.

none then to our fugitiues, whom he keepeth to no other end then to ſend to the ſlaughter. I could vrge this point farther, confirming it with infinite proofes and examples, but that this alreadie ſpoken may ſuffice to let you knowe the daunger of putting your ſelfe into this Spaniſhe coope, which whoſoeuer knoweth, and yet will go thether, it is greatly to bee feared, what innocencie ſo euer he pretend, that hee beareth with him the minde of a traitor.

Now to the third point of my diſcourſe, concerning the miſlike which ſundrie of you haue of her maieſties gouernment, and the ſtate of our countrey at this preſent, pretending that to bee the cauſe why ye tranſport your ſelues into the king of Spaines dominions, who in your conceit, are gouerned with much more mildneſſe and tranquilitie: I will by comparing the one with the other, as neere as I can, let you ſee the difference betweene them both, and ſo conſequently your owne error.

The cauſes of their miſliking the gouernment

As neere as I can geſſe, this your diſliking proceedeth of two points, the one that your laws are too rigorouſlie and ſeuerely executed againſt ſuch as profeſſe the Catholike religion: the other, that the aduerſarie hath buzzed a feare into your heads, making you beleeue that the forces of our ſtate are too feeble to reſiſt ſo mightie and puiſſant an enemie as the Spaniſh king: whoſe mighty treaſures, many dominions, and armies of men, they magnifie to the skies, and therfore perchance you couet to ioyne betimes with that partie which you do thinke aduantagious for your future ſecuritie and aduancement. Firſt touching the perſecution of Catholikes, which our fugitiues do ſo much exclaime vppon, filling whole volumes therewith, and aggrauating the ſame in tearmes moſt bitter and lamentable, to forrein nations: let vs ſee what reaſon they haue. I would faine demand one queſtion, If euer they did

reade,

reade, heare, or know of any one king or queen y did with greater mildnes or lenitie tollerate or suffer within his or their dominon, a sect of religion opposite to the lawes by him or them establiſhed, especially the same hauing sundrie times made rebellious attempts against their crowne, estate, and dignitie.

Let them looke, if they be men of iudgment, into the ages passed, euen amongest the Heathens, and into the present time among all the princes of Europe, whether there be anie to be found that hath dealt with the like lenitie as her maiestie hath done. Why then doo they so falsely slander her? Do they not knowe that she is their sacred and annointed Queene, appointed by God to rule ouer them? If they do, why do not they then with all reuerence and humility, loue, honour, and obey her, praying God to conuert her, (seeing such is their desire) and not by traiterous indeuour seeke to murther and depriue her? They learned not that of the ancient Christians, in the Primitiue Church, who praied for the Emperours and Princes vnder whome they liued, yea, and though they were idolaters and heretikes, beseeching God that it would please him to graunt them *Vitam prolixam, imperium securum, domum tutam, exercitus fortes, senatum fidelem, populum probum, orbem denique quietum.*

The fathers of the primitiue Church prayed vnto God for their prince, yea euen such as persecuted them, y it would please him to giue thē a long lyfe, a secure Empire, their house safe, their armyes strong, theyr counsell faythful, their people true, and finally a peaceable world.

Now let our fugitiues examine the secret of theyr owne consciences, & I doubt not but they shall find them guiltie of another manner of mattins.

But they will saie, shee hath executed many Seminarie Priests. I confesse in deed that the law hath had his course with many of them, as likewise it hath had with many other malefactors for their crimes. But yet her maiestie hath alwaies proceeded therein in so gracious and mercifull a sort, that she hath witnessed sufficiently to the

world, how loth ſhee is to come vnto bloud, ſo long as there was anie other remedie to be vſed.

For her Maieſtie knoweth, her honourable Councell knoweth, yea, and I and the whole worlde knoweth, that the comming of theſe Seminaries, Prieſtes, and Ieſuits, to reconcile men (as they tearme it) to the obedience of the Romane Church, is directly and abſolutely to alienate & diuert their mindes from her maieſty, and to incline them to be readie to aſſiſt anie enemie either within or without the realme, that ſhall colour his cauſe vnder the pretext of religion. Her maieſtie, I ſaie, and councell, and all good ſubiectes knowing this, and foreſeeing the daunger that might thereof inſue, forbadde by act of parliament, theſe ſortes of ſeditious people to enter into her realme, or to vſe or exercife anie ſuch vnquiet doctrine, limiting therewithal to ſuch as were within the realme, a time to depart out of the ſame.

But this lenitie wrought rather contempt then obedience, for theſe men contemning the grauitie of our lawes, and not thinking anie to be obeied, but ſuch as they make themſelues, came ſtill into the realme as faſt as before. Great numbers of them were taken and impriſoned, whom though her maieſtie deſeruedly, and with great iuſtice, (eſpecially the daily miſchiefe ſtirred vp within the Realme, by their malitious practiſes conſidered) might haue executed as traitors and rebels, yet the greatneſſe of her princely clemencie and compaſſion, was ſo vnwilling to come vnto extreames, that ſhee cauſed them all once more to bee pardoned, and to bee put out of the Realme, but with expreſſe commandement neuer to return in the like ſort: in doing otherwiſe, they ſhould not attend anie other than the rigor of the lawes. All this would not ſerue their turne, but in deſpight of her maieſtie, and contempt

of

of her lawes, ſundrie of them returned, of which ſome of them being taken, haue receiued the hire and iuſt recompence of their diſobedience.

But that her maieſtie ſeeketh not their bloud, as they moſt falſely giue out, appeareth by her clemencie vſed to ſundrie of them, taken by her ſoldiers in the low countries, who though they were of ſir *William Stanleys* crew & adherents, yet ſeeing they were not taken within England, ſhe graciouſly pardoned them all, and cauſed them to bee ſet at libertie, in giuing ſome little recompence to thoſe that had taken them priſoners.

Where is then this rigour you ſpeake of? I hope the king of Spaine keepeth another manner of reuel in his dominions, ouer all Spaine, Portingall, Lombardie, Naples, and Sicilia: whoſoeuer ſpeaketh a worde, or maketh the leaſt ſigne in the world to miſlike his religion there eſtabliſhed, or anie point or ceremonie thereof, his cruell and bloudie miniſters the Inquiſitors, cauſe them, without remiſſion, to be preſently burnt aliue: of which the death of poore Doctor *Auguſtine Cacalla* can giue good witneſſe, Who for a ſmal point of difference in religion, was at Valladolid in Spaine apprehended for a Lutheran, and wyth him thirtie, of ſuch as had giuen him audience: many of which were Gentlemen and Ladies, and among the reſt the two ſonnes of the Marques of *Poza*, the greateſt parte of which were preſently burnt aliue, the reſt ſubmitting themſelues were pardoned their liues, but condemned to perpetual priſon, with the confiſcation of all their goods: and all their life time to weare the Sambenito, which is a yelow garment, with a red croſſe before, and another behinde, painted all ouer full of deuils faces: a thing of the greateſt reproach and diſhonour there that poſſible can bee.

The crueltie & perſecutions of the Spaniard in matter of conſcience.

The Sambenito

But

But ſeeing theſe, of which wee haue ſpoken, are his ſubiectes, and are of force tied to the iuriſdiction of his lawe, how cruell ſo euer, I will not heere trouble you anie farther with the recitall of the calamities & miſeries layde vppon them from time to time, howe ſundrie of them for the breache of his conſtitutions in matter of ceremonie, haue bin cruelly committd to the flames. But what reaſon hath he, I would faine knowe, to extend the like rigor and crueltie againſt ſtrangers, who owe him no obedience, but come onely into his Countrie in regarde of marchandiſe, or other theyr occaſions, & neuertheleſſe haue beene apprehended, their goods taken awaie, and they themſelues cruelly executed?

Among innumerable other examples hereof that I could alleadge, I will onely acquaint you with one. At execution of which, a Gentleman of good credite in the low Countries, ſware vnto mee that hee was preſent, and that it was in manner as followeth.

The execution of a Dutchman and an Engliſhman in Spaine for religion.

There was one *Giles Rat*, a citizen of *Antwerp*, and by his occupation a ſhoomaker, who ſome fewe yeeres ſince going into Spaine about ſome buſineſſe pertaining to his trade, was apprehended and brought before the inquiſitors, onely for that hee had ſmiled at the image of our Ladie, which as they ſayde he had done in deriſion, & therefore preſently condemned him to the fire, and with him likewiſe an Engliſhman for the like cauſe, whoſe name the Gentleman that ſawe them burned, knew not: but hee tolde mee, that at the time of their execution there mounted vp into a ſcaffolde there by two Ieſuites, forbiding the people, vpon paine of excommunication, to praie for them, ſaying that they had deliuered them both ouer in bodie and ſoule to the deuill, as thoſe that died obſtinate and wilfull heretikes.

Surely

Surely by these examples it appeareth, that he would be loth to tollerate in Spaine anie that should go about to seduce his people with anie contrarie doctrine, especially ministers, of which if anie such should fall into his handes, it is likely hee woulde not so often pardon them as the Queene hath done the other. As for his lowe Countries, I neuer knew but of two taken, and they were both put in sackes by the Spaniards, and throwen into the riuer

They were take in the towne of Dermounde three yeres since.

This is in deede extreame tyrannie, and not that which her maiestie vseth, who is alwaies readie to receiue into grace and fauour, those of whome she hath anie hope that they will become good subiectes, & hath, as I haue heard, offered (after that by lawe they were condemned) her princely mercie & fauour to some of them, if they would haue promised to become good subiects.

The merciful offer of her maiestie to Catholikes after their condemnation.

O how different is this proceeding from that, whose mildnesse and clemencie they so highly commend. But it is the nature of men, especially of those whose iudgementes are wauering and vnsetled, alwaies to mislike and loth those things to which they are accustomed, deeming other, to them vnknowen, much better.

But perchance you will saie that in their so great commendation, they do onely meane his manner of gouernment in the Lowe Countries. True in deede it is, that hee hath not yet planted there his inquisition, though the fame be much against his wil. Neuertheles if you did but see the manner of his gouerment in those partes, I thinke you would iudge them worthie of small beliefe, that haue so highly commended the same vnto you. First, in matter of religion and conscience, I doo not thinke that it is possible for anie people to be more hardly and vncharitably dealt withal, then they are vnder the seruitude of the clargie, but especially of the Iesuits.

As for the other orders of religion, as Monkes, Friers, &c. though they are exceedingly exhauſted by them in matter of charge, as beeing compelled to reedifie their ruined cloiſters, to furniſh them with coſtly images and rich furnitures, and daily to ſupply theyr wants, as well in yeelding them victualls, as in ſatisfying all their other exorbitant demandes, which are infinit, (of which who ſo denieth anie, is preſently reputed to be an heretik.) Yet all this is nothing in compariſon of that which by the Ieſuits they are conſtrained to indure, who haue nowe gotten that hand ouer them, that the chiefe magiſtratſhips and places of dignitie, are not granted but vnto ſuch as ſhal be by their liking allowed, and by their authoritie confirmed. Nether without theyr aduice and councel dare they determine of anie great matter, concerning either gouernment or pollicie. There is not anie mans buſines but they muſt haue an oare in it: they neuer plant themſelues in anie places but in the middeſt of goodly cities, where they wring themſelues into the faireſt pallaces, in ſome of them diſpoſſeſſing by violence thoſe to whom they appertained. Their churches are rich and ſumptuous, their moueables and houſeholde ſtuffe magnificent, rather than decent, their gardens pleaſant, ſpacious, and delightfull, theyr garmentes fine and comely, theyr fare plentifull and of the beſt: and in fine, they are not tied to anie riſings in the night, or anie the like hardnes, to which other religous orders are ſubiected. Their firſt maſſe doeth neuer at anie time begin before eight of the clocke, vnto the which you ſhal ſee him come foorth attended on with nouices, in as great a grauitie as the Pope himſelfe when hee is in all his pontificalibus: they are accounted to bee the greateſt intelligencers and ſtate-men of the world. They may not according to their orders, receiue anie higher office or dignitie: wherein of all other thinges they haue the greateſt

The Ieſuits growen to an exceeding authoritie in the low countries.

The greatneſſe, magnificence, & the deliciouſnes of ỹ Ieſuits.

Their Colledge at Antwerp belongeth to ỹ ſocietie of ỹ marchants of Aquſgraue. Likewiſe their colledge at Bruſſels, is vſurped & detained from the true heires.

The politike inſtitutions of the Ieſuits.

policie, for otherwise theyr old politicians should be from them aduanced to higher promotions, which would bee great diminution to their dignitie, which as they now order the matter, is of such credite and reputation, that they take the name of a Iesuit, not to be any whit inferior to the title of a Bishop: they are not subiect to anie ordinary, nor to the controlment of anie Bishop or Legat whatsoeuer, but onely to the prouincial or general of their order, who neuer lightly comes amongst them, and if he doo, he is a brother of the societie, & wil find no salts for feare of scandall. But the best is, to see how busie and diligent they are when they heare of a wealthie man that lieth sicke and in daunger of death. This is their chiefest haruest and moste *Opima preda*. Then they commend vnto him the pouertie of their Colledge, and the merite that he shall gaine by dealing liberally with them, as being for euer to bee remembred in their masses, as one of their benefactours. The *Cordeliers* and they are at this present in processe together in *Spaine*, about this visitation of sicke men in *articulo mortis*. The Iesuites saie, that it appertaines vnto them, because their profession is actiue, and to be alwaies stiring among the flocke, and to doo good to the world abroad: whereas that of the Cordeliers is contemplatiue, and so by consequence most decent that they should conteine themselues within their cloisters. The Cordeliers on the other side do replie that their profession is meekencsse, innocencie, pouertie, and to doo good vnto all men. As for the Iesuites, that they are proude, ambitious, aspiring, entermedlers in matters of state, men of greate riches and couetous of more, and therefore by no meanes to bee admitted to such as lye at the point of death. The matter hath bin much argued of & greatly debated in Spaine. All the other orders of religion are vehemently against thē, & they haue bin openly inueighed against in ỹ publik schools of

They bestir thēselues whē they heare of a rich mā that lieth in danger of death

The Cordeliers are such as in England we cal led Grey fryers, of the order of S. Frances.

The Iesuites haue bin inueied against in ỹ publike schools of the vniuersity of Louaine

of Louaine: yet notwithſtanding they are ſo ſtronglye backt by the king (whoſe turne they ſerue againe in other matters) that howſoeuer the crie go againſt them, they holde their owne ſtill.

The policie of the Ieſuites in teaching of children.

Among all their other policies, they haue one, that in my iudgement is no whit at all inferior to anie of the reſt. For whereſoeuer they remaine, they take vpon them to teach and inſtruct the children of chiefe men and magiſtrates, profeſſing to doo the ſame freely and without reward: wherein they deale ſo carefully, that the parents doo not account theyr childrens time to bee miſſpent: they in the meane time making hereof a double benefite. For firſt they bind the fathers and parents of the children to be their friendes and fauourers: ſecondly, as for the ſcholliers, they ſtrike into theyr tender capacities ſuch a reuerence of themſelues, and withall doo diſtill into their mindes ſuch points of doctrine, and ſuch an opinion of their holynes and integritie, that the ſame ſeldome weareth awaie, but rather increaſeth with theyr yeers, which is vndoutedly of no ſmal moment, to the ſtrengthning and the vpholding of their ſocietie and faction.

Likewiſe they haue ſo cunningly wrought, that whereſoeuer they are, they onely are the generall hearers of all confeſsions, diuing thereby into the ſecretes and driftes of all men, acquainting themſelues with theyr humours and imperfections, and making thereof, as time and occaſion ſerues, their owne vſe and benefite.

But by the waie, ſeeing it comes ſo well to our purpoſe, I cannot choole but tell you a pretie ſtorie that happened lately in the low Countries.

A ſtorie of the Ieſuits impietie

A marchant whoſe name was *Hamyet*, beeing ſicke at Antwerpe, of a conſumption or feauer *Etique*, the Ieſuits knowing him to bee a man of great poſſeſsions, and with-

out children, presently repaired vnto him, vnder colour of spirituall consolation, laying before him the vanitie of this life, and the glorie of the worlde to come: with sundrie other perswasions, as of all men liuing they haue their tongues most at will: & withall, commending vnto him their order, as of all other the most meritorious, perfect, and acceptable to God, and to which our holy Father the Pope and his predecessours haue granted more indulgences than to anie other order of religion whatsoeuer: insomuch that they brought the poore man (beeing of himselfe simple) into their societie, thinking that there was no other waie to bee saued: So as before hande hee infeoffed their colledge with his land, which was two hundred pounds a yeere, giuing them much goods and rich moueables, and when hee had so done, died within three moneths after the same. His next heires, by counsell of their friendes, put the Iesuites in sute. Againste which though they opposed themselues with all vehemencie, yet to their great shame and reprehension, sentence was giuen against them by the roial councel of Macklin. Notwithstanding they woulde not so giue ouer, but by the meanes, aide, and support of President *Pamele*, a chiefe fauorite of theirs, they appealed from thence to the councell of Estate at Brussels, getting the cause, after sentence giuen, to be remoued, a thing there vnusuall, and scarcely euer heard of before. There I lefte the processe hanging, what became of it afterwards I knowe not, but by hooke or by crooke it was thought they woulde carrie it awaie in the end.

It is called *Magnum regium, & consilium*, and hath authoritie to determine definitiuly both in ciuil & criminal causes without appeale.

Another time a rich & wealthie marchant of Antwerp, but one in that point whose deuotion and scrupulositie ouer went his wisdome, comming to them in confession, and telling them of some vniust gaine, with which hee felt

Another & lyke historie.

his conſcience touched, they preſently (with ſundry terrifying ſpeeches) tolde him that he was in ſtate of damnation, out of which he could not be deliuered vntil ſuch time as he had made reſtitution, as wel of that confeſſed, as of al other monie and goods that he had by vſurie vnlawfully gotten: laying before him, *Quod non dimittitur peccatum niſi reſtituatur ablatum:* with ſundrie other ſuch ſentences, of which they had ſtore. In fine, they put the poore man into ſuch a feare of conſcience, that he yelded to make reſtitution, if ſo the ſame might bee done without his vndoing, diſcredit, or ſhame. Wherupon to comfort him again, but in deed fearing leaſt if they dealte too rigorouſly and roughly with him, they ſhuld get nothing, they told him that if inſtead of all ſuch intereſts and vſuries, with which he felt his conſcience burthened, he onely would be content to deliuer vnto them ſome ſuch ſumme of monie, as without his vndoing, he thought he might conuenientlie ſpare, they would take it vppon their ſoules to ſee the ſum imploied vpon good, vertuous, and charitable vſes, to the greater benefit and merit of his ſoule, and as a thing more acceptable vnto God, and leſſe ſcandalous to the world, than if he ſhould make reſtitution to whom it appertained, and had bin by his vſurie intereſſed. Whereupon the marchant beeing well ſatisfied in conſcience, gaue them the monie, and they him their abſolution. It was a great ſpeech for a while about the towne, that this great marchant would become a Capuchine, and make a diſtribution of his goods among them: hee himſelfe made great ſhew thereof a while, but in the end he deceiued them, & falling to his old bias, did not ſtick to tell vnto ſome of his priuate friends this fore-remembred tale.

His name is Iohn Baptiſta Spinola, a man known in moſt marchāt towns of chriſtendom.

But I wil hold you no longer with the recitall of theſe their politike and vnconſcionable practiſes, which truely,

in my opinion, are verie vnfitting for men that profeſſe themſelues to be of the ſocietie of Ieſus, who beeing the fountaine of all pureneſſe, will ſurely neuer aſſociate himſelfe with deceiuers and falſe worldly polititians. But let them take heed, for this the intruſion of them into temporall matters, their ſubtilties, and vnquiet ſtirring wits hath made them odious to moſt part of the worlde, I meane euen to ſuch as profeſſe their own religion. The Templers were as mightie as euer they were, and in outward apparance of as great holineſſe and integritie, yet for their hypocriſie God ſodainly ouerthrew them, tooke awaie their liues and poſſeſsions, and made their memorie infamous. Let them beware that the like puniſhment hang not ouer their heads, for I can aſſure them they are growen odious to the world, and to none more odious, than to ſome of their owne religion, who doo well foreſee the ſcandall & ſlander that by their behauiour ariſeth vnto the Romane Church. I could heere in particular touch ſome of them by name, with matters that they woulde bee aſhamed to heare: but I am not ſo vncharitable or malitious as to libel the names of anie men, or to defame them publikely, eſpecially for matters of frailtie: though among them nothing is more common and vſuall, than vpon the diſlike of anie mans humour or action, preſently to publiſh his name to the world, in ſome malitious pamphlet or other, vpbraiding him therein, yea euen with the verie errors and frailneſſe of his youth, if they can touch him with anie ſuch, if not, then imputing to him fained falſhoods and villanies, which how falſe, wicked, or improbable ſo euer they bee, they knowe they haue cuſtomers that will receiue them for currant. Yet all were well, ſo they woulde content themſelues to deale onely with priuate men in this ſorte, but ſuch is their reſpectleſſe, audatious, and vnbrideled inſolence,

The Templers greater than euer they were, yet ſodainly for their hopocriſie ouerthrowen.

They haue dared in their Libels to touch ỹ maieſtie of princes, and the dignitie of great & honourable counſellers.

inſolence, that they haue dared to lift their damned & rebellious pens, dipped in ſtronger poiſon than the arrowes of *Hercules*, againſt the ſoueraigne and ſacred maieſtie of princes, and againſt the high & eminent dignitie of great & mighty councellors, yea, euen of ſuch as ſit at the helme of gouernment, raking out of the fouleſt ſinkes of hell it ſelfe, falſe, defamatorie, periured, and abominable ſpeeches, thereby to diſpoſſeſſe the worlds mind of the opinion, which their conſtant courſe in long continued vertue & integritie hath gained them. But in fine, they looſe their labor, and get no more than he that defiled his owne face with ſpitting into the winde: or the other, that kicking againſt a thorne, made his owne heeles bloudie. For howſoeuer in their common wealth, which they deliniate according to the guiltines of their owne feeling & gouernment, or their *Philopater*, which name they giue themſelues by a figure called *Antiphraſis*. But howſoeuer in them or anie other pamphlet they raile or bewray their owne malice, they can no whit at all impeach the honor and reputation of theſe noble perſonages, who like mightie & well grounded rockes, contemning the forceleſſe vvindes that blow againſt thē, are ſo ſurely ſeated vpon the ſafe ground of loialtie to their prince and loue to their Countrie, that albeit they pleaſe the humour of a few, vvhom they leade like Buphals by the noſes, forbidding them to looke into the light, leſt they ſhould perceiue their iugling: yet thoſe that haue anie vvisdome or diſcourſe of reaſon, vvill the more honor, reuerence, & eſteeme them, & admire their happines in hauing deſerued ſo vvel of the realme, as that thereby they ſhould procure vnto thē the hatred of thoſe that are ſuch deadly and deſperate enemies to the ſtate & ſafetie of the ſame. And as for ſome of them, no ſucceeding age can euer bee ſo vnthankfull, as not for euer to remember

member their names with an infinitenes of honor. But in the meane time, iudge with your selues how miserable & enthralled these people must of necessitie be in matter of conscience, whose leaders religion is nought els but ambition, periurie, pollicy, and defamation. But if you will tourne your eyes from thence to their temporall gouernment: surely I do thinke the recitall of their miseries, would rather breed in you admiration then beliefe, so far doth the same exceed the compasse of all theyr tyriannies that euer were vsed. There is no calamitie in the world of which these miserable people hath not tasted: their country being as a stage, vpon which for the space of this twentie yeeres, there hath bene nothing acted, but bloodie tragedies. Their noble men and rulers in whose vertue and courage consisted their chiefest refuge in times past (when they were wronged and tyrannized) haue bene murthered, strangled, poysoned, and slaine, by the bloudie ministers of their cruell kings. They are taxed in great summes of money, and numbers of their men sent violently into Fraunce and forreine warres, and the reliques of their nobilitie, forced to go with them to their apparant slaughter, leauing in the meane time theyr owne Countrie in praye to the neighboring enemy, their villages flaming in fire, and their townes battered about their eares, with the cannon. Their priuiledges taken from them, their cities that sometimes striued in opulence and glory with the goodliest and greatest of the world, are gouerned by base and barberous Spaniards, bridled with their garrisons and Castels, and lackaged and spoiled by them at such time as their paiment faileth. I could at length recite vnto you the histories and declarations of these seuerall pointes heere briefely touched, but that I should trouble you with matter altogether tragicall and delightlesse: and withall they

The miserable wretchednes & calamitie of the Lowe countries vnder ỹ gouernment of the Spaniard.

Count Egmont Count Horne, marques of Bergues, Monsieur de Montigni. M. de Strale, the L. Gisbert and Thery of Battẽburg, Monsieur de Hares, Pierre de Andelot, the L. Peter & Philip of Alts, &c.

This was at such time as the yong Count of Egmond went w aforce of low countrymen into France, wher he was slaine at ỹ battel of Yury leauing in the meane time Numegen besieged by the states, & brought to the greatest misrie that might bee.

being ſo common, apparant, and lately done, that there is ſcarcely anie one vnacquainted therewith, at leaſt of ſuch as haue anie the leaſt deſire to looke into the eſtate of forraine matters. In fine, there is no face of iuſtice in their commonwealth, the ſame being wholy pliable to the will of ſuch ſtrangers as are gouernors of their townes, and Captaines of their Caſtles. Their commonwelth iuſtly now reſembling the Turkiſh gouernmente, where the peaceable eſtate obeyes the militar, and where there is no lawes but ſuch as armes preſcribe. Their goodly Hauens beautified ſomtimes with the concourſe of iunumerable ſhippes laden with rich marchandiſe, from out all partes of the worlde, are nowe vnfrequented euen of fiſherboates. Theyr trafique ceaſed, theyr townes abandoned and made deſart, of which ſome are vtterly diſpeopled, and in moſt of the reſt, of tenne houſes ſcarſely three inhabited. Their villages abroad burned, & ouergrowen with buſhes, their goodly meddowes and fruitefull paſtures drowned manye miles wide and long, by letting in of ſluces and cutting downe diches. The manſion houſes and Caſtels of their Nobilitie, abated & throwen downe, Some by furye of the Cannon, ſome by violence of the ſouldiers, for couetouſneſſe of the Lead, Iron, glaſſe, marble, &c. And ſome by ſtanding long forſaken and abandoned of their owners. theyr errable ground lying many large miles waſte and vntilled, inſomuch that there a man may haue as much landeas hee will, and thankes withall for the onely manuring thereof. As for the poore labouring people of the Countrie, (whome the Spaniarde neuer calleth but *Villanes*) for the moſt parte they are all ſtarued and conſumed of hunger, of which diſeaſe, (beeing according to the ſaying of the Greeke Poet, of all deathes the moſt miſerable) I haue my ſelfe knowen twen-

twentie thouſand to die in one ſommer, and God knoweth how many more: namely, the yeere that Marſhal *Biron* laie incamped wyth the French armie at Rozendale, and the Engliſhmen at Oudenboſch: ſo that you may ride an hundred miles without ſeeing of anie man, woman, or childe, vnleſſe it bee ſome poore ſillye ſoules that come creeping out of the woodes hunger-ſtarued more like reſuſcited ghoſtes, than liuing Chriſtian creatures. And yet all theſe in a manner happyer, becauſe they are at an end of theyr miſeries (than ſuch as doo liue within the inhabited places of the Countrie, as the lande of Waſt, the Kempine, &c. For I take them of all the people in the worlde to bee the moſt wretched and miſerable. Ouer euery village of theſe are appointed certaine horſe-men, to whome they are conſtrayned to paie monethly by contribution, ſome tenne crownes, ſome twentie, ſome fortie, ſome more, and ſome leſſe: I knew one that paide an hundred crownes euerie moneth, called *Turnolt*: but they paid it ſolong, till all the dwellers ranne awaie, and haue now in a manner lefte it voide of inhabitants. Ouer this village and the whole Country is appointed a Commiſſarie called *Sygnio*, for the diſtributing and ordering of theſe contributions, of all tyrants liuing the moſt cruell, and of leaſt conſcience. Who if they faile, and doo not bring in their monie at the laſt daie of the moneth, hee ſendes forth troupes of horſemen, to take the beſt of them priſoners, and withal, to driue home to their quarters or garriſons ſuch ſheepe, horſes, oxen, or cattell whatſouer, as they find in their villages, which hee cauſeth, if the monie followe not within fiue or ſix daies at the fartheſt, to be ſolde at the Drum or Trumpet: and withall, forceth them to paie a great fine, the one halfe of which he retaineth to himſelfe, & the other he giueth to the ſouldiers for their out-roades

The miſerie of the inhabited places

Sigonio, chiefe Commiſſary of ỹ contributions

and forbearance of their monie. But the miſerie of theſe poore people endeth not heere. For beſides all this, they are forced and compelled many times to lodge ſouldyers in their houſes, as they march along the Countrie vppon ſeruice, at which time it is ſcarcelye credible what outrages they receiue. They haue theyr cattell killed, to the vſe of theyr vnthankefull gueſtes, theyr corne threſht out, & ſome carryed awaie, the reſt giuen to horſes, theyr cheſtes broken vp, theyr goods, euen to the verie ſheetes, and the tykes of theyr beddes, (the feathers beeing turned out,) ſtollen & carried awaie by the ſouldiers when they march, themſelues beaten, and beſides conſtrayned to giue monie, theyr wiues and daughters abuſed: and in fine, what elſe is to the nature of man moſt grieuous & intollerable, they are conſtrayned to indure: yea, inſomuch that I haue ſeene the rude and barbarous ſouldier cut off the fingers of women to come to their ringes, which otherwyſe would not come off with ſuch ſpeed as they deſired.

The barbarous cruelty of ỹ Spaniſh ſouldier

Neither is the Condition of the poore Citizen or Townes man anie better, who beeing conſtrayned in places of garriſon to lodge ſouldyers in theyr houſes, imparting to them the beſt lodgings and commodities of the ſame, neuer hearing from them anie other woorde, eſpeciallye if hee please them not in all theyr exorbitant demaundes, than *Perro*, *Flamenco*, *Lutherano*, *Borachio*, &c.

Yet beſides all this, hee is daylye wearyed out with continuall exactions and taxations, as of the hundreth pennie, the tenth pennie, and once a yeere without faile, the fifth pennie of valure of all his goods & landes whatſoeuer: beſides infinite other pillages and gathering towardes the making of rampires, reuelins, bulwarkes, paliſadoes, Countreſcarpes, Caſamates, pertayning eyther

ther to the reparation of their wals, or the fortification of their townes, and besides, to giuing of munition, bread, beere, and cheese, to such companies of souldiers as shall passe by their Townes distressed of victualls, with infinite such like. I haue knowen it (I speake it on my faith) poore people of Antwerp forced to sell their beds they lie vpon, to satisfie these tyranous exactions, which if they shoulde not doo, execution of their goods, & attachment of theyr persons should follow. But which is most beyond reason, whereas within the towns many of the houses lie vacant and vnhabited, yet the owners of them are taxed according to the value in which they were wont to be rented. Insomuch that in Antwerp and other townes, it is a matter verie vsuall for men to disclaime & quite their owne houses, thereby to be exempted of such paiment, as otherwise by reason of them they are charged with, and that they doo formally before the Magistrate, at which time the Amptman entereth in, and seizeth them to the kinges vse.

A strange exaction of the king of Spaine.

The Amptman is a magistrate for the king, whose chief authoritie consisteth in the execution of ciuil causes, after sentẽce giuen, which ỹ Dutchmen call *Vonnisse*. Likewise in matter of confiscation and forfaiture.

But besides, whereas sundrie Gentlemen, and others the inhabitants of these prouinces, hauing certaine annuall rents issued and growing out, and charged vppon the Kings demaines in the Dutchie of Brabant, at least to the yeerely value of tenne thousand poundes, some of which rents haue bene by themselues bought of the states generall, some left vnto them by their parents & predecessors, the king (without all conscience) most vniustly & wrongfully disanulling the sayd rents, hath and doth without all equitie or forme of iustice, take into his handes the sayde demaines, appropriating the vse, commoditie, and reuenue thereof to the maintenance & keeping of his troups of horsemen.

Likewise, what bondage can be greater than that of their

Aſſiſes, which conſtraineth them to paie for their wine & beere as much in equall portion to the king, as they do to the Vintner or Brewer, from which the poore begger is not free, but if he will drink, he muſt pay as much vnto the king, as he doth to the victualler. Neither doo they eate their bread or fleſh without yeelding and paying duties to the king.

Compare now (I praie you) heerewith, your eſtate of gouernment at hom, and tell me which of the two you do thinke to bee moſt fortunate. Doeth her Maieſtie deale in this order with you, whoſe gouernment you ſo much miſlike? Oh good God, how can you bee ſo peruerſe, ſeeing the great happines and ſecuritie wherin ſhe keepeth & maintaineth you, as not to acknowledge and confeſſe the ſame? How gentle are the helps and ſubſidies which ſhee exacteth of you, without the vndoing or hinderance of any man of whome they are exacted? and on ỹ other ſide, howe profuſely ſpendeth ſhee her owne treaſure for the maintenance of you, your wiues, & children, in quietnes, iuſtice, and freedome? Oh pray vnto God therefore, that ſhee may long and proſperouſly liue, for in her conſiſteth the type of your felicitie.

But now to the other points of your miſlike. Whereas the aduerſarie goeth about by all meanes poſſible to beat into your mindes a fearefull imagination of the king of Spaines forces, perſwading you that the ſame is farre too feeble and inſufficient to withſtand and reſiſt ſo mightie an oppoſed enemy as is the king of Spaine, terrifying you with his millions of gold, and the many, mightie, & powerfull nations ouer whom hee commandeth: I hope, notwithſtanding all his ruſling and great ſhew, by cleere and euident reaſons to let you vnderſtand and know, that the fame of him is farre greater than his force, and that there is

not

not this daie anie prince in the whole world, whose estate standeth more tickle and readie to ruine than his, and that there is no cause why we should feare him, but many why he should feare vs. First, that hee is the most mightie & opulent prince of Europe I do not deny, if he had vsed moderation in his greatnesse, & acknowledged the great benefites which it hath pleased God to haue bestowed vpon him with thankfulnes, vsing them vnto his glory, and not making them instrumentes of his vnlimited ambition, to the ouerthrow and destruction of his neighbours, and the maintenance of factious warres in euery corner of christendome. To which dissention, occasioned by his means, we must needs attribute this late formidable descēt which the Turke hath made into christendome. But such is now the estate whereunto his all coueting ambition hath brought him, or rather the reuengefull hand of almightie God, which hangeth ouer his head, for his many, cruell, bloudie, and vnchristian practises and aspiring tyranies, especially for imbruing his hands in the roiall bloud of his innocent wife, of his eldest sonne prince *Charles*, & of sundry other his best and truest subiects, that he is in the middest of all his glory and pompeous magnificence turmoiled with vnquiet thoughts, & in the middest of his riches and treasures indigent, poore, & indebted, vnable to giue satisfaction vnto such armies as he maintayneth, to which end he is forced to extort from his poore subiectes, and to make himselfe to all future ages a president of the extreamest tyranny that euer in any time was vsed: of which his scarsity and indigence, what more manifest profe can we desire, than the dayly experience which we haue before our eyes, of his owne naturall subiects the Spaniards, who beeing the best disciplyned fouldyers hee hath, those of whom he maketh best and most account, and in fine, the

That the fame of the King of Spaine is greater than his power.

Apolog: principis Auraici.

verie

verie pillars that vnderproppe his tyrannie, haue neuertheleſſe within theſe fewe yeeres, for want of their payment beene ſundrie times conſtrained to enter into ſeditions and mutiny againſt their generall in the low Countries. Some fiue or ſixe yeeres ſince it was my happe to be then in Flanders, when there were two thouſand of them that tooke one of his owne townes called Courtray, and in demaund of their payment, the which was then three yeeres behinde, they diſplayed their enſignes, and planted their artillerye vppon the walles againſt the Duke of Parma theyr generall, refuſing to obey his commandements, and reproching him with wordes of infamie. For remedie of which inconuenience, the Duke hauing no money, ſent poſt vppon poſt into Spaine: but in ſeuen moneths there could not any money be gotten. Notwithſtanding manie and moſt important derriments hee receiued by occaſion of this mutinie, as, the loſſe of Bredaw, the retardance of the intended ſuccours for Paris, the daunger of *Nieumegen* &c. At length, by the faire perſwaſions of the Prince of *Aſcoly* their mutinie ceaſed with the receit of a moneths pay or two and promiſe of more vppon their returne from France, which not being then perfourmed, they fell, and that greater troupes of them, into a ſtronger mutinie than before.

The mutinie of the Spaniards in Courtray.

Beſides, looke into the reſt of his proceedings in theſe his Lowe Countries (of which, becauſe I haue beſt experience I will chiefly ſpeake) and you ſhall not finde any thing in the world that carrieth with it a greter apparance of want. Neither (as the report goeth) is it better in his other Prouinces, which verely I beleeue, ſeeing of al others it behoueth him to vſe theſe beſt, as being his eldeſt, perfecteſt in diſcipline, and beſt experienced troupes: and in fine, thoſe (as I ſayd before) vppon whome the hopes of

his

his ambition dependeth. Al which notwithstanding, I can not thinke that euer anie Prince hath suffered so many valiant men, especially his owne subiects, and within his owne Countrie, to perish through hunger, or that hath been driuen to such strange kinde of shiftes and deuises to stoppe necessities, and to deceiue his souldiers, as hee hath.

First, the Country not being yet fully consumed, wasted, and destroyed, hee permitted his militarie troupes, with barbarous inhumanitie to liue vpon the spoile of the Country, to rifle the poore inhabitants, and to constraine them to ransome their houses from fire, and their persons from murther, by the which means, the souldiors lingred in such sort, that I haue knowen them remaine three yeres togither without any one moneths pay, especially the horsemen. But afterward, *Antwerp* being tendered, and by reason of the generall deuastation of the Country, the souldiors failing to finde their woonted releefe and pray, grewe into so great and miserable extremitie, that it was a great matter to find anie ensigne that was twentie strong.

The *Spaniard* mutined vpon the stoccada, whom presently they found meanes to appease with some few moneths payment. The *Wallons* mutined in Liefekins hooke, and the land of Waste. The Almanes went by hundreds begging vp and downe the streetes of Antwerp bare-legged and barefooted, and in a manner naked. The *Italians* starued in their quarters, and diuers of them in garison at *Bredam*, ranne thence to *Huysden*, and to other adioyning Townes of the enemie. For remedy of all which inconueniences, he found meanes to deale with the *Italian* Bankers of *Antwerp* for cloth & silke, as northerne kersies, packclothes, bayes, reffuse *Italian* veluets, taffataes, and sattin, taking vp the same at excessiue rates, yeerely to a certaine

The generall mutinie of the kings armie in ye low countries

ſumme, for receit of which, and deliuery out againe, hee appointed a Spaniard, one *Chriſtopher Caraſa*, a man of moſt wicked conſcience to be his Treaſurer.

The manner of the kings payment of his ſoldiers in cloth

Then hee beganne to graunt payments to the whole campe, horſe and foote in this manner of marchandize, and vnto ſuch Gentlemen and Penſioners as were in great extremitie, and had beene long ſuters: which they hauing receiued, were forced for want of money preſentlye to make ſale of, for the thirde parte of that value in which hee receiued it. For, according to the high prices at the which they were rated, and the badneſſe of the ſtuffe, it was not poſſible to get more: ſo that a ſouldier hauing fourteene ſhillings a moneth, receiued for his monethes paie, onelie foure ſhillings and ſixe pence.

Caraſa had alwaies his factours and Brokers abroad, to buy thoſe ſalde clothes and ſilkes in againe, the which hee preſently deliuered out at the firſt price to the next that came, and ſtill forth deliuering, and buying the ſame in againe, for the third part of the price, inſomuch, that with ten thouſand pounds diſburſed, it is probable, that he made payment of aboue a hundred thouſand pounds in the yeere: and yet ſometimes he woulde make them ſtaie foure or fiue monethes before hee woulde deliuer them cloth, or anie contentment at all. Within a while after he would manie times neuer trouble himſelfe with the deliuery of the cloth, but by a ſecond, cauſe the ſutors lyberanſa to bee bought, as in the yeere of our Lorde one thouſand fiue hundred eightie and nine, ſir *William Stanley* before his departure thence into Spaine, had obtained a lyberanſa in cloth for two monethes pay for his Regiment, amounting vnto two thouſand and fiue hundred crownes, the paiment whereof being aboue a yeere deferred, an Agent of his, after his departure, was faine to ſell it

for

for ſeuen hundred and fiftie crownes, and yet thought that he had therein made a good bargaine. I haue knowen ſundry that haue ſolde ſuch their lyberanſaes for eight and twentie & thirtie in the hundred: yet this payment howe bad ſoeuer hath ſomewhat contented the ſouldiers foure or fiue yeers, rather hauing that than nothing: but now alſo the ſame is dryed vp and vaniſhed: for the Marchantes vtterly refuſed to furniſh the King with any more wares, both becauſe the ſumme wherein hee ſtoode already indebted vnto them, amounted vnto an exceſſiue matter, as alſo, that hee beganne to wrangle with them about the intereſt, of the which he craued moderation: and the rather becauſe they ſaw before their eies manie freſh preſidentes of men that were vndone, and diſhonoured, ſuch as hee had dealt withall. Amongſt the reſt, one Simon Sweres a Portugueſe Merchant, greatlie reſpected in Antwerp, as well for the wealth and credit which he poſſeſſed, as alſo for the ſinceritie and vprightneſſe with which he handled the Duke of Parma, ſeeing after the reduction of Antwerp the paſſage of the riuer ſhutte vp, and the countrye and Townes, as likewiſe his army afflicted with great dearth and ſcarcitie of corne (rie being then in Antwerp about foure and fortie ſhillings the vierendall) and withall, being dayly cryed vppon by Trynquart the Generall of the Viures for munition and corne to victuall the campe, the olde ſtore being cleane conſumed, knew no other meanes than to deale earneſtly with this S. Sweres, and other merchants that had trade with Hamborough, Lubecke, & the Eaſterlings, which countries were repleniſhed with corn, to make ſome aduēture thither for the releeſe of their preſent extremity. He among the reſt ſhewed himſelf not vnwilling to enter into an action ſo charitable, ſo that his paines might be requited, and he ſufficiently warranted,

The kings hard and diſhonorable dealing with Simon Sweres.

The vierendal is about foure buſhels of our meaſure.

and kept free from ſuch danger as might enſue, either by perill of ſea, taking of the enemies, or loſſe in the ſame when as it ſhoulde come.

To this end the Duke procured him the kings Letters of aſſuraunce in the moſt ample manner poſſible, encouraging him with faire wordes, and many promiſes to proceede, which hee did with the aduenture of the moſt part of his credit and goods, inſomuch that hee laded three ſhippes, of which one was by tempeſt ſeatered from the reſt, & driuē on the coaſt of *Scotland* where it periſhed: the other two after many caſualties and dangers ariued ſafe at Dunkerk: but at that time ſuch was either his ill lucke, or the Countries good lucke, that vpon a new plentiful yere, they had ſuch ſtore of corne, that the price thereof abated from forty foure ſhillings to ſix ſhillings the vierendall, at which price the Kings officers hauing made their prouiſion, and furniſhed their ſtore, vtterly refuſed to take that which arriued in the ſhips of *Simon Sweres*, wrangling with him about the goodneſſe thereof, and the long ſtay which his Factors had made, whereby the poore man making ſute vnto the king by one whome he preſently diſpatched into Spaine, was forced to keepe the ſame ſo long vpon his owne hands, that it venowed and waxed muſtie, in ſuch ſorte, that hee was faine to throwe the greateſt part thereof away, without euer to this day being able to receiue of the king one penie of recompence, inſomuch, that he was conſtrained by reaſon of this, and other loſſes happening by the occaſion thereof, to the wonderful ſhame, griefe, and confuſion of him, his wife, his children, & his friends, hauing before time liued in as great magnificence & good reſpected ſort, as any Merchant in the towne, to breake bankerout: and I ſaw him at *Bruſſels*, ſuing to the Duke and to the priuie counſell for a protection to keepe his bodie from

from attachment.

But shall wee wonder at this his dealing with priuate men, when hee spared not in these reckonings of mony to deale as bitterly with the Duke of *Parma* himselfe, the vnkindenesse of which was the greater, in regarde that the nobleneſſe of the partie to whome he vsed it, & the neareneſſe to himself in blood, being his owne nephew, seemed euen in honor vnfit for the receit of so vnrespectfull a message? for whereas the Duke of Parma not long before his death had borrowed 30000. crownes of the Bankers of Antwarpe, to stoppe therewith a sodaine extreame necessitie that concerned exceedingly the Kings seruice, and had for the payment thereof interposed his owne credite and assuraunce, which otherwise they refused to lende him, in regard of the kings ill correspondence in their former recknings: Vpon the next comming downe of the kings mony into Flaunders, the Duke caused the said sum with the interest thereof, to be according to his promise paid to the Merchants. Whereupon the Treasurer generall aduertising the King his master of the late summe receiued, and withall, of the deduction made by the Duke of Parma, for satisfaction and payment of the Italian Bankers. The King presently wrote downe a Letter vnto the Duke of Parma full of the bitterest and disgracefullest reprehensions that possible might bee: amongest the rest, wondering how hee dared presume to turne such money to satisfaction of Merchants, as hee had appointed vnto the maintenance of his armie, commaunding him from thence forwarde not to arrogate vnto himselfe so great an auctoritie as to dispose his money to anie other vses, than such as he shoulde ordaine them for, & withall, rebuking the treasurer generall for deliuering the saide summe, directly charging him not to doo the like at anie time, without

His vnkind dealing with the D of Parma.

out his eſpeciall warrant. Which vndeſerued indignitie did ſo much grieue the Duke, chiefly being guilty to him ſelfe of the well imployment thereof, and of his many notable & faithfull ſeruices, that he ſhut himſelfe vp for many daies into his chamber, full of the extreameſt melancholy that might be, the cauſe wherof being by the world wondered at, his inward fauorits did not ſticke to publiſh the ſame in maner and forme as you ſee it here deſcribed.

The indigence of his Treaſurer generall, & the miſerie of ſuch as are ſutors vnto him at Bruſſels.

Other men may hereof imagine as they pleaſe, but ſurely I cannot bee perſwaded, but this his vnroyall dealing proceedeth directly from a meere diſabilitie and vnableneſs that he findeth in himſelfe to ſupplie the infinite charges of the many great enterpriſes with which he hath intangled himſelf, of which if you deſire to haue better experience, looke but into the office of his treaſurer at Bruſſels, and I doubt not but you will confirme my opinion. There you ſhall ſee a miſerable troup of ſutors with Liberanſaes in their hands, ſome of the which haue loſt a leg or an arme, ſome that wearied with warres, & pretending either age or infirmities, haue gotten their licenſes & paſports to depart into their countries, ſome alleadging one cauſe, and ſome another: but in fine, no one of them all (in leſſe tha two or three yeres folowing him) able to get a peny, ſo that there is no yere but a great number of them die for hunger, yea, & ſome of them euen at his gates. I aſſure you on my credit, I haue known ſome poore people, that for the ſumme of ſixe poundes haue followed him three yeres: when either he goeth out or cõmeth into his houſe, he is fain to go through gardens and by-waies to deceiue his poore ſutors, who otherwiſe enraged with deſperate neceſsitie, did aſſaile him, though in vaine, with ſuch lamentable and rufull cries, that it would pearce any honeſt mans heart to heare them. But here by the waie I thinke it

not

not amisse to tell you two pretie iests that hapned at Brussels whilest I was there, in the yere 1590. the one of a Spanish, and the other of a Sicilian souldier, either of which practised his wit vpon *Iohn de Lasture*, the kings treasurer, to the obtaining of a little monie, for the which they had a long time followed in vaine. The Spaniard getteth him to the gardian of the gray Friers in Brusselles, professing with a maruellous contrition and remorce of conscience, an exceeding zeale and inclination to enter into religion, praying him in christian charitie not to refuse to receiue him, seeing it had nowe pleased God to touch his heart with so godly and zealous a desire: in fine, hee vsed such perswasiue speeches that the gardian was contented presently to admit him, & withal, to alow him a time of probation, after the which, if in the meane time hee did not mislike of their orders, nor they of his behauiour, he promised to accept him into their fraternitie. Presently a Friers long coate with a cowle was giuen him, which, after hee had worne three or foure dayes, and learned the behauiour thereto belonging, hee acquaintanted the gardian with certaine debts that he had in the towne wherewith his conscience was greatly burthened: Mary withall, that he had a lyberansa able to discharge them, & the ouerplus besides remaining, which hee meant to bestow vpon the Cloister, if that the Treasurer would be so fauourable vnto him as to pay the same: to which end he requested the gardian to accompany him, and to helpe to intreate the Treasurer in that behalfe: to which hee consented, and being both admitted to the presence of the Treasurer, the new conuerted brother first with a Friers ducke lowe to the ground, then with a very reuerent gesture and humble speech, tolde him that hee came not now, as in former time he was vsed to doo, to importunate him for

A notable cosoning trick of a Spanish soldier.

mony

monie, but onely to signifie to his Lordship, the grace the which it had pleased God by his holy spirite to worke in him, praying him frō hence forward to continue his good Lord & patron, as he would for euer in his spirituall function remaine his Orator & bedes-man: Marie withal, that the debts which he had made during his time of beeing a futor, laie heauie vpon his conscience: and withall, his creditors came clamorously to the cloister, in such sorte, that the gardian there present had threatned to expell him the house, vnles he tooke present order for their satisfaction, which as it could not but bee greatly to his bodily shame, euen so might it also turne to the destruction of his soule, if he should be now again thrust into tho wandring courses of the world, which of necessitie hee must be, vnlesse it would please his Lordshippe to be good vnto him, and to cause his poore *Liberança* to be payed: and therewith wiping his eies, as though he had wept, made another lowe reuerence: neither was the gardian behinde to confirme his speeches, & earnestly in his behalfe to intreate the treasurer, who at the generall request of the standers by, as also that he felt his owne cōscience beginning to wamble with compassion, after he had incouraged him with many cōfortable words to patience and perseuerance in that blessed estate of life, caused his *Liberança* to bee taken, and his monie to bee forthwith paide: vppon which with many humble thankes they tooke their leaue. The Spaniard vppon his returne to the cloister, tolde the gardian that hee could not by anie meanes conforme the frailnes of his flesh to that austeritie of life. And therefore with many heartie thankes, deliuering him his coate, went his waies to make good cheere amongst his Comeradoes, not glorying a little in the happines of his successe.

But now to our Sycilian. Hee hauing by many obser-

uances

uances found the humor of the Treasurer chiefly to be addicted to one especiall Iesuite, aboue any other of the Colledge, as both being his ghostly father, as also otherwise of very priuate conuersation with him, and finding the Iesuite one day hearing of confessions in the Church of their Colledge, according as their custome is, kneeled downe, and when his turne came vttered his confession, in the end whereof he interrupted his speeches with many sighes, as though there were something hanging in his teeth, that he was loth to commit to the vtterance of his tong. Which the Iesuit perceiuing, with many protestations and assurances, both of his comfort & counsel, encouraged and perswaded him to reueale it, insomuch, that after a long shew of great vnwillingnes, he told him that he had made a solemne oath & vow to kill *L. de Lasture* the Kings high Treasurer, moued therunto by a violent dispaire wherunto his extreame & rigorous dealing had driuen him. The Iesuit amazed at so strange a speech, failed not to tell him, that the obseruation of such a vow was much more wicked, than the breach ther of, & withall, that the performance would procure both his bodies death, & his soules damnation. The souldier replied, that he knew his wordes to bee true, and withall, that he had in his minde already forecast this and much more: neuertheleſſe, that his minde was so strongly possessed with this dispairefull and dreadfull resolution, that it was not in his power to withdraw his thoughts from the desire to accomplish it. Whereupon the Iesuite seeing that it was not in his force to diuert him from that, vppon which, to his seeming, his mind had so fully resolued, requested him yet, that hee woulde the next morning at eight of the clocke meete him in the same place againe, and hee would conferre further with him. Which the souldier promising, the Iesuite presently repaired to the Treasurer, and after his solemne oath

The like practise of another coosning Sicilia

taken, neuer to prosecute anie thing against his fellowe, acquainted him with what had hapned, forgetting not withall to dilate much of the wild countenance and amazed iesture of the fellowe, and therefore wished him not by anie meanes to hazard a thing of so great value as his life, vppon the frantike resolution of a desperate soldier. The Treasurer not daring to apprehend the fellow, least thereupon danger might haue insued to the Iesuit, for reuealing a thing vttered in confession, and withal, restrained by his oath, requested him to bring him with him the next morning, which the Iesuit not failing to do, they found a fellow redie in the hall to receiue him with monie, who taking the soldiers Liberansa, gaue him presently satisfaction, which was of such vertue, that it assoiled him of his vow.

In fine, you may see that these are no great tokens of that bottomlesse plentie which they speake of, when poore men that haue spent their yeeres, and their bloud in his seruice, must be driuen to vse such dishonest sleights and coosning deuices for the obtaining of their money. Neither (as I heare) is the matter much better in Spaine it selfe, euen there where the store-house of his treasure is. For I my selfe haue seene many comming thence poore & pennilesse, cursing their iourney, and denyed the sutes they went for. And withall, I heard not long agone a Gentleman of good sorte & iudgement saie, that it was his hap to be in Spaine at such time as sundrie of those Spaniardes that had bene prisoners here in England after the ouerthrow of the Armada ariued there poore & miserable, where they sawe great troupes of them suing in the court for some small relieue, but to so smal purpose, that he heard diuerse of them exclaime euen afore the Secretaries doore, & wish themselues in England again, for there they had meate and drinke, and lodging, whereas in their owne country they could not get anie. The sight of

this

this hard & beggerly vſage, but eſpecially the feeling of that which they themſelues receiued, haue made many great & worthie ſoldiers to abandon him with mightie diſcontentments, as among the reſt Iohn Baptiſta de Monte, and Camillo de Monte, two notable captaines, both now retained vnder two mightie States, the one beeing Generall to the Duke of Florence, the other bearing like charge vnder the Venetians, who both lie in wait to crie quittance with him.

And if report be true, I hope ere it be long we ſhall heare that they haue accompliſhed their deſire, for they ſaie theſe two States begin to ſhuffle the cardes, which if it bee ſo, it is verie likely that they will deale the king of Spaine but an ill game. Once, it is certaine that the Duke of Florence his braue baſtard brother, Don Iohn de Medicis, who had a penſion of 4000. crowns by the yere frō the king of Spain, hath ſent him backe both his penſion & his pattent, and he raiſeth troups of horſmen, but to what end and purpoſe the ſequell will ſhew. As for the Venetians, the Embaſſador reſident in the French kings court, & their apparant fauours done vnto him frō time to time, ſufficiently declareth their affections vnto the other ſide. But theſe things being aboue my reach, I will leaue them to their ſucceſſe, and ſo returne to my matter.

Don Iohn de Medicis hath renounced ỹ king of Spaines penſion.

The ỹ Venetians well affected to the French.

Sundry of you haue knowen, and ſcarcely anie but hath heard of that renowmed Germane ſir *Martine Skinke*, a man both in courage of attempting, and iudgement in directing and managing matter, of warre, ſcarcely ſecond to any Captaine of our time: the ſtorie of his life and fall is as common as pitifull, and therefore I will not trouble you with the rehearſall of it, neyther is it incident vnto the matter I entreat of, onely I briefely acquaint you with ſome parte of his deſertes, and the recompence which hee in fine receiued, to the end you may more cleerely diſcerne and better iudge what

The vnnoble & vngratfull vſage of M: Skinke.

what reward or aduancement after long deseruing and infinite merites is in this penurious seruice to be expected. First, after the memorable siege of Mastricht vppon the last departure of the Spainardes out of the low Countries, according to the capitulation betweene the King & the prouinces of *Henalt* and *Artoys*, who thereunto put themselues in the Kinges obedience, whereas the Duke of Parma seruing himselfe in his warres, onely of the Wallons of the country, and a few Italian horsemen, was daily ouertopped by the Prince of Orange, and the French, not knowing scarcely where to turne him for want of Forces to keepe the fielde: Skinke brought him out of Germany a mighty power of Reyters, which comming on such a season, you must imagine were welcome, as being indeede the onely occasion of many great exploites which the Duke of Parma happily atchieued.

Secondly, after the siege of *Cambray* raised, & the towne of *Cambray*, *Lylier* and Saint Gilians taken by the French, & on the other side the townes of *Eyndouen* and *Helmont*, and the Castels of *Buxtell*, *Hemer*, *Lemmicke*, and *Midlaer*, taken in *Brabant* by the States, the Duke of Parma being as much or more distressed than before, *Skinke* brought him a second supply of at least fiue & twentie hundred horsemen, which (as I haue often heard him say) hee had leuied in a manner wholy vppon his owne charge, ioyning the which with certaine troupes of footemen, being vnder the charge of *Monsieur de Haultepenne*, hee tooke in all those forenamed places which the enemye had surptized in *Brabant*, and clearing the country round about, did many other notable seruices of importance. But to be short, it was at last his chaunce, by a trecherous plot that was laide for him, to fall into his enemies handes, and to bee carried prisoner into Gelders: of which one Ouersaxe a Germaine was at that time gouer-

nour

nour for the States, who being glad of such a prize, in regarde that hee was his countrie man, and so greate a souldier, endeuoured by all meanes and practise possible to diuert his minde and affection from the Spaniardes, but finding him still most resolutely faithfull and constant to the party which he followed, hee caused him to bee imprisoned in a great obscure filthy Tower of the Towne, and withall, set him at an excessiue ransome, such as he did thinke woulde exceede the compasse of his abilitie to discharge. *Skinke* in the meane time by his friendes earnestly sollicited, the Duke of Parma to help him with somwhat towards his ransom: but in fine, seeing there came nothing from thence but delayes and dilatorie excuses, hee vsed such meanes by the sale of his goods and the helpe of his other frendes, that after fifteene moneths imprisonment he procured his libertye, and came directly to the Duke of Parma, lying then at siege before Antwerp at a place called *Beuer*, where it was my chance to see him a long suter, without obtaining any the least helpe at all, such was at that time the Dukes necessitie, insomuch I assure you, that I haue heard *Skinke* earnestly protest, that hee had not in his purse wherewithall to buy him so much as a paire of shooes (for those were his owne verie woordes) neyther had hee knowen where to haue gotten meate or drinke, but that by good happe hee mette there with *Chenowes* a *Germane*, to whome he was much beholding for releefe in these great extremities. In fine, seeing no money was to be gotten, he desired the gouernment of *Numegen*, the which by a deuice of his plotting, was newly rendred: neuertheles it was denied, and the same giuen to *M. de Hautpen*. Then he desired the Kings cõmission to leuy a standing regimẽt of *Dutch* footmen, that likewise was denied. Lastly, to stop his mouth, he had a company of horsemen granted him, with which going downe into *Gelderland*

Chenowes then gouernour of Axthyll.

he put himſelf preſently into imployment. But winter comming on, when all the Kings horſemen had their quarter appointed thē, for the receit of their contribution: He likewiſe ſent his Furrier to *Signia* chiefe commiſſary for cauſes to demaunde ſuch quarter contribution, and allowances as were appointed to the other troupes of horſemen, who ſent him word that his company was not inroled within the Kinges horſemen, and therefore, that hee had not authoritie to aſſigne him any, whereupon *Skinke* went preſently vnto the Duke of *Parma*, requeſting his Highneſſe to cauſe his company to bee enrolled in the liſtes, & to commaunde, that they might receiue ſuch vſage as the reſt: but his anſwere was, that the King woulde not raiſe anie other new companies, but rather had ſent commiſſion downe to caſſiere many of the old companies.

Nothing euer more moued *Skinke*, than the indignitie of this dealing, and ſo telling the Duke, that hee woulde be loath now hee had ſpent all that euer he had, in the Kings ſeruice, to be accounted a Captaine of Fryboters, tooke his leaue, bending his minde preſently to reuenge, and foorthwith ſurpriſing *Nuis* by a ſtratageme, deliuered both the ſame and the caſtle of *Lemmick*, and withall, his owne perſon into the ſeruice of the States, of whom he was receiued with ſuch honour as to a man of ſuch worthyneſſe belonged. I know not what may hereof be imagined, but in common ſence and reaſon, this not requiting the deſertes of men of ſuch exceeding value, argueth either an vnwilingneſſe, or elſe an vnableneſſe to do the ſame; if an vnwillingneſſe, what comfort then ſhall a man haue to ſpend his yeeres and fortunes in ſo ingratefull a ſeruice? If vnableneſſe, as in reſpect of the hinderance and inconuenience thereby inſuing to his owne ſeruice, I rather iudge it: where is then this ouerflowing plentie & endleſſe treaſure, with opinion of which

they

they endeuour so farre to possesse the worlde, as though e-
very man that doth him seruice shoulde bee choaked with
gold for his labour? To what end vseth he this scarcitie in re-
wards & paymentes? or when will hee vse his golden mount-
taines, if not now, the losse of his Countrey, honour, and re-
ligion, and the greatnesse of his vndertaken enterprises con-
sidered? No vndoubtedly, it is meere want and indigence
that driueth him to these exigents: he is mighty, but he gri-
peth at more than hee is able to imbrace: he is rich, but the
infinitenes of his charge exceedeth the measure of his ri-
ches. Vppon the comming downe of his last fleete, he set vp
his rest and lost it with an euyll encounter, and that not one-
ly his owne, but that also of his friends, the Popes, the Duke
of *Sauoy*, the *Genouese*, &c. which set him in such arrerages,
that I thinke hee will not hastily come out of them.

As for the treasure of his Indies, wherein indeede con-
sisteth the very marrowe, strength, and substance of all his
puissance, I confesse the same to bee exceeding great: yet
his occasions considered, and making an estimate betweene
the one and the other, I account the one (as I said) farre too
feeble to answeare the vnlimited greatnesse of the other, &
yet the same hath bene reasonably impaired also since such
time as sir *Francis Drake*, and other woorthy English Cap-
taines haue found the meanes to fret him in those partes,
since which time the returne of his *Indian* fleet hath not kept
the course it was wont to doe, but stayeth sometimes halfe
a yeare, somtimes more, longer than it was accustomed, and
yet commeth not securely home in the ende: and whereas
hee was woont to waft them home onely with a Galleasse
or two, he is now constrained to entertaine a great & migh-
tie nauy of many shippes, to his inestimable & continuall
charge. If you desire to knowe what these his great charges
are, on which he is enforced to employ them, first you must

consider

The king of Spaines tresures vnanswering & inferiour to the infinitnes of his charge.

consider that hee scarcely holdeth anie of his prouinces, wherein he is not constrained to hold garisons of souldiers, and not as other princes are accustomed, vpon the frontiers onely, but euen in the hart & inland places of them, as well to resist the forain suspected enemie, as for to represse the naturall tyranized subiect, who vpon euerie offered occasion is readie to take armes to recouer their libertie, & to free themselues from forth the yoke of his hateful gouernment, as the Indies, Arragon, and Flanders will beare me witnes.

As for the low countries, of the which I will first speake, because they are neerest: It is manifest, that there is not anie towne or castle, (besides manie fortes, skonces, and block-houses) in which he is not constrained to hold a garison, vnlesse he vtterly raze and dismantle the same, as he hath alredie done Eyndouen, Terlemount, Leaw, Sickem, Sutfenen, &c. Antwerp alone, as the case now standeth, bring of greater charge than the reuenue which he receiueth out of the whole countrie is able to defraie. For, besides the continuall maintenance of a thousand Spanish footmen in ordinarie garison within the castle, besides Canoniers & officers that doo attend vpon the artillerie, munitions, prouisions, & infinit other charges thereto belonging, he is forced to maintaine two companies of horsemen in the towne, as well for conuoyes, sallies, as sundrie other occasions that are dayly presented, and withall, seuen or eight ships of warre vnder the wals of the townes vppon the riuer, to secure the same from the incursions of the Zelanders, both to keepe them from attempting anie thing vppon the towne, as also from piercing farther downe alongst the riuer, hee was once determined afore the cõming downe of the Armada, to haue increased his number of shipping there, and to that end cõmanded the Duke of Parma to make prouision of timber, ankers, sailes, cables, and tackling, the which was done with

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an infiniteneſſe of charge, and at length eight hundred *Geuoueſis*, marriners, & ſhipwrights ſent downe, who were preſently ſet aworke about the making of twelue new great ſhippes all at once. But before they were halfe finiſhed, (whether the greatnes of the charge, or what other occaſion moued him thereunto I knowe not) but hee ſent a new commaundement to make onely foure of them vp, of which the one was great galeon Alexander, who beareth aloft in her ſtearn a great blazing Sunne with this poſie vnderneath, *Non ſert ſerra duos*. The other eight I ſawe long after lying in the docke like rotten carcaſes, with their ribbes out, in which eſtate they do yet remaine for any thing I know.

The great galeon Alexander and her poſie.

In fine, ſo great & exceſſiue are his charges, in thoſe partes, that I do knowe it vppon good and aſſured grounds, there hath beene no one yeere theſe twenty yeres, but that they haue coſt him two millions and more yeerely aboue the commodities & reuenewes which they do yeelde him, and yet ſcarcely any man contented. Neyther are his prouinces of *Italie* in a manner of leſſe expence, or greater commodite vnto him: for, beſides the ſtrong and puiſſant garriſons, which euen of neceſſitie hee doeth maintaine in the great Caſtelles of *Millaine*, *Naples*, and the many other fortified places, he is conſtrained to entertaine in yeerely penſion the greateſt part of the Nobilitie and Gentlemen of either prouince, thereby to keepe them from attempting any manner of nouelty againſt his gouernement, than which all the worlde knoweth right well, (eſpecially whoſoeuer hath beene in *Italie*, or is any thing acquainted with the the eſtate of thoſe countries) there is nothing more odious, diſpleaſing, and contrary to the nature of an *Italian*.

Nothing ſo odious to the Italian as the gouernment of a Spaniard.

Likewiſe hee is faine to entertaine continually a greate number of Gallies vppon the coaſt of Naples, to defend thoſe ſeas and ſhoares from the incurſions of the Turke.

The like charge by sea and by land hee is forced to beare in Sycilia, Sardina, his cities on the coast of Affrica, Portugall, the *Tercaras*, the *Indies*, *Brasile*, *Maiorque* *Minorque*, yea and euen in his Spanish Prouinces of Biscan, Galycia, and Arragon, as for Nauarre hee knoweth that hee holdeth them no longer than hee treadeth vpon their neckes, and therfore hee layeth on loade there with his garrisons both of horsemen and footemen, as well in Pampelona as the other Townes and fortresses of the Country, & all will be litle enough, and if it would please almighty God to blesse the indeuors of the French King.

And of all these his garrisons and charges, hee cannot for his life diminish any, being guiltie to himself of the violence of his gouernment, being not further assured of them, than whiles hee holdeth their heades in the bridle. I will not dispute the iustice of his Titles, nor yet alleage the pretences whereby the Frenchmen entitle their King, not onely to Arroys, Henalt, Naples, and Millaine, but also to Spaine it selfe. But that hee holdeth Portugall, Maiorque and Minorque, the Countie of Ronsillen, and the kingdome of Nauarre by meere extortion and extremitie of wrong, is to all the world a matter most apparant & euident, insomuch that some of his owne Writers, in their Apologies and defences of some of his Titles, are constrained in a manner to fortifie their best reasons with the verses of Eurypides:

If right and iustice are to be transgrest,
To breake them for a kingdome, then tis best.

Besides all this, his prouinces and dominions do stand so seuered and disunited, that the very transporting of his money from one to an other, as it is with daunger and inconue-

conuenience, so is it of infinite charge vnto him, insomuch that I haue heard some of his Commissaries in the Lowe Countries sweare, there is no crowne of his that commeth from Spaine into those partes but standeth him in fiue ryalles of plate, so great is the charge of carriage, conuoies & commissaries to deliuer and receuie the same from one place to another.

Withall there are fewe Realmes or countries of Christendome, in which hee entertaineth not factions and diuisions, and scarcely any in which he nourisheth not a number of Intelligencers and Spies, all depending of his purse, with whome hee dealeth more or lesse liberally, according vnto the place or meanes they haue to doe him seruice, if they be entertained in Court, or neare about the person of a prince, able to send him good intelligence, or to doe some notable mischiefe for him, hee will not sticke to come off bountefully; as for example, you sawe how cunninglyhee had practised with Lopez that damnable Physition, who like his predecessour Iudas had for money consented to betraye innocent bloud, to whome besides the fiftie thousand crownes for which the bargayne was, hee commaunded his Secretarie Ibarra to bid him demande what else he would, so that hee would take vppon him to perfourme that which he had promised, which was, by taking awaye her life, by whome wee doe all liue, to bring our noble Countrey into such a sorrowe, desolation, and misery, as neuer anie Nation had tasted the like. But it hath pleased the Lorde our God of his endlesse mercie, as hee hath alwayes mightily and miraculously defended her Maiestie, so likewise now to confound the wicked conspiratours in their owne diuelish deuises, and to preuent the tragicall intended issue of theyr most barbarous and bloudy practise, beeing such, as well in regard of the secrecie which was to be had of handling, as the

Hee norisheth factions and diuisions in most countries of christendome.

His Intelligencers and Spies.

His detestable practise w Lopez for ỳ taking awaie of her Maiestie.

imagined facilitie of performance, that of manie which he, the diuell, and their adherents haue ſet abroach ſince the beginning of her Maieſties glorious reigne, neuer any (to mans iudgement) was halfe ſo daungerous, themanner & memorie whereof is ſo freſh, that the recitall of any particularities would be but ſuperfluous.

The Earle of Eſſex.

Onely let vs not forget to be thankefull vnto almightie God for his mercy ſhewed in reuealing it: nor vnto that worthie and honorable Lord, by whoſe watchfull induſtrie and zealous care of her Maieſties ſaftie, it was firſt ſuſpected, and finally, by his wiſedome and diſcreete handling fully diſcouered, who although hee did before poſſeſſe the faithfull loues and vndiſſembled affections of as many as euer did any of his ranke, yet neuer did hee (although hee hath doone many thinges vertuouſly and nobly) any thing, that wonne him ſuch reputacion and applauſe throughout the whole Realme. All men in generall, and euerie man in particular acknowledging to haue heerein receiued of him a moſt ſingular and peculiar benefite.

All his kinſmen of the houſe of Auſtra depend chiefly vpon the maintenance of his purſe.

But leauing this, and returning vnto my former matter, it is a thing notorious to all the world, that the houſe of *Auſtria* is ſpread into manie braunches, of which euery one reteineth the name of Archduke.

But in concluſion, their dignitie, lordeſhippe, and eſtate is faine to rely wholy vppon his purſe: for there is not any thing in all this worlde that he more affecteth, than to maintaine this houſe of *Auſtria* in greatneſſe & dignitie, & therefore vppon the death of *Battor* the laſt King of *Polonia*, hee laboured infinitely to inueſt his coſin *Maximilian* the Emperours brother in the royaltie of the Realme, ſending him downe (beſides many ſecret bribes beſtowed vppon the noblemen of *Polonia*) with a mighty army of Reyters to take poſſeſſion: the vnfortunate ſucceſſe of which enterpriſe, as

Maximilian of Auſtria ſent by the King of Spaine into Polonia with an army.

alſo

alſo the Archedukes impriſonment and diſhonourable eſcape, I do voluntarily omitte as beeing a thing vnto the whole worlde well knowen, and altogither impertinent vnto the diſcourſe which I haue in hand.

In the Conſiſtorie of *Rome* hee is faine to entertaine a great number of thoſe hungrie Cardinalles in penſion and fee, as well to gaine their voyces, when neede requireth, as alſo when the pontificall ſea is voide, to looke well to their election, eſpecially, and aboue all thinges, that hee whome they elect can daunce the Spaniſh Meaſures, in which if after his being choſen, he ſhoulde chaunce not to foote it well, according vnto the tune of his pipe, then preſently to remoue him with a *Caſtilian* Calenture, the which is a ſtrange diſeaſe, neuer lightly holding them aboue three dayes, and many of them of late haue beene ſubiect vnto it.

A Caſtilian Calenture.

This Pope doeth feare it mightily, and that maketh him ſo loath to accept the *French* Kings reconciliation, though as in Religion, ſo in Pollicie and Eſtate, hee knoweth that there is not any thing more expedient and neceſſarie for him, than to haue a mightye King in *Fraunce*, that maye ſerue to holde the King of Spaine ſome tacke, and ſerue as a barriere betweene him and *Italie*, for his predeceſſours haue a long time ſince diſcouered this ſecrete, that there is not anye thing more neceſſarye for the maintenaunce of the Pontificall dignitie, then the ballancing of kings in equall counterpoiſe one with another: which he now in reſpect of the king of Spaines increaſed greatneſſe is not able to do, and yet vnderhand I do thinke he could be very well content, to ſee his wings a little clipped, leaſt one of theſe dayes hee take his flight into *Italie* (as his father did) and make him as a priuate Biſhoppe of a dioceſe to do nothing but whatſoeuer it ſhal pleaſe him to command him.

Pope Sixtus liked not the ambitious greatnes of the Spaniſh king.

Pope *Sixtus*, who was accounted one of the greateſt Po-

liticians of our time, liked nothing at all this ouerweying greatnes of the King of Spaine, as he tolde his Embassador plainely one day in the Consistorie, when hee braued him with threatenings and commaundements from the King his Maister. But presently the smell of the Spanish glode that certaine of his Cardinalles had in their purses, strake him into such a calenture, that much against his will he was faine to take leaue of the world, and leaue behinde him vneffected many great matters, on the which hee had in his minde determied. So that although the King of Spaine be at great charge with these noble Pillers of the Church, yet you see, that sometimes of their sides it is not vnrequited, seeing that for his sake, they are contented so honestly to betray their Maister. Hee had not manie yeeres since an other charge no whit at all inferiour to this, which was in maintenance of the pension in warres against the Turke. But howe the matter standeth since the late agreement betweene these two Princes I knowe not, but I doe imagine that his treasures walke that way still: for, *Turpius eijcitur quam non recipitur hospes*: Pensions and entertainement giuen to strangers, as for the time they procure a certaine hired and mercenary affection, so their withdrawing engendereth for euer a deadly and euerlasting hatred. Lastly, for conclusion, hee maketh at this instant open warres with Fraunce, England, and the lowe Countries: what deeme you then hereof? Hath he not vent (trowe you) for his treasures? His father was a better souldiour, and a greater man of warre than hee is, and of much more mightinesse & puissance, for, in steede of Portugall and the Indies thereunto belonging, wherwith this hath increased his dominions, the other swayed the mightie Empire of the Germaines, and that with such a commaunding authoritie ouer that prowd nation, as neuer any of his predecessours since Charlemaine did the like, and withall, hee quietly enioyed the whole

whole seuenteene Prouinces of the Lowe Countries, who in respect of their great opulence, abundance of riches, and conuenientnesse of scituation, some late Writers of great authoritie haue not spared to compare vnto his Indies, and yet he neuer dared to make warres vpon France alone, before hee had first sought by all manner of possible meanes, to assure him selfe in friendship with England, giuing to that ende great and mighty presents vnto Cardinall Wolsey, and other of the Nobilitie, that in those dayes did beare sway with her Maiesties father of most famous and worthy memorie King Henry the eight: wheras this maketh warre carelesly with all the world at once: but the Italians haue a true prouerbe;

Monsieur de la Noue. Discourse sur l'estate de Fraunce.

Chi tutto abbraccia, nessuno stringe:

He that embraceth all, holdeth not any fast.

And so I hope it shall fare with him.

Nowe as touching those his mightie and puissant numbers wherewith they doe goe about to strike such terrour and feare into your mindes, I doe take vppon mee to knowe the estate of his forces as well as an other man. And I doe not thinke him to bee in anything more penurious than in the want of men: for as for Spaine, Naples, and Lumbardy, vpon which his onely force doth consist, and which are his principallest and chiefest Store-houses of men, it is sufficiently knowen that his Drummes haue gone at the least the space of a whole yeare together beating vp and downe, according as the manner is, to gather together six thousand men, and those all Sheepeheardes, Hedgepikers, and such idle trewantly rogues, the most part of the which hee his forced to put into garrisons for the space at the least of a yere or two, to the end to fashion them, before he do send them to seruice, for, vppon their first leuie, you did neuer in all your life see more seely snakes thā they are, I saw some few yeres since a great number of them brought down into

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the lowe Countries, fresh out of *Spaine* by the Duke of *Pastrana*, such ragged beggerly staruelings, that in my verye conscience I do speake as I thinke, a man indeed would haue beaten tenne of them.

As for *Germany*, out of the which heeretofore hee hath drawen great numbers, and by their good helpe hee hath atchieued many great matters, his vsage hath beene so base and miserable vnto them, that the olde souldiours are all starued and consumed in his seruice, whose calamitie hath so much feared and terrified the rest at home, that no Prince in *Europe* hath lesse credite to raise men there than hee hath. And although there were no such kinde of matter, yet they are no manner of waie bound vnto him more than to an other, their profession being to serue onely him that will pay them best, and yet if he shoulde raise any of them (the alliaunces of her Maiestie, and the scituation of their Countrie considered) it should be a matter of great difficultie to ioyne them with his other troupes.

The holy legue of France is of late growen verie sicke

Where are then his innumerable legions, with which these mount banke lowde mouthed fellows say, hee is able to ouerrunne the worlde? Alliances hee hath none, vnlesse it bee with the holie rebellious league of *France*, the which nowe of late is growen very sicke, and keepes the chamber, and euery day we doe looke to heare the newes of the death and *Vltimum vale* thereof, and yet when the patrons thereof were in best health, was neuer of any assistance, but of a continuall burthen and charge vnto him: Neyther did hee euer trust his chiefe Agentes in this same sanctified societie, nor they euer loue him. Each of them working and drifting with particular endes and meanings: of the which I will speake but a worde or two succinctly, leauing the rest to men that are of better abilitie to dilate vpon, which (in my iudgement) in regarde of the practises, iuglings, diffidences, circumuentions,

cumuentions, vnderminings, treacheries, miſchiefes, and conſpiracies that haue beene betwene them, would yeelde matter to as delightfull an hiſtorie, as hath beene penned in our time.

First, no man is ignorant of the pretention & title which the Kings of Fraunce doe pretend to the kingdome of Naples, the dukedome of Millaine, the County of *Rouſſillon*, & the earledomes of *Artoys* and *Henalt*, for the recouerye of which, ſtil as they haue beene within themſelues at quyet, they haue made one attempt or other: alwayes therefore one of the chiefeſt pollicies of the King of *Spaine*, hath been to finde them worke at home, inſomuch, that though it bee ſtrange, yet the *Frenchmen* doe verye confidently write it, that ſuch was his deſire to keepe ciuill diſſention afoote in *Fraunce*, that hee ſpared not to animate, yea and ſometimes ſecretly to helpe and aſſiſt with money, the prince of *Conde* and the *Admirall*, although all the worlde knoweth, hee neither liked their cauſe, nor religion: the like they ſay he offered to this King of *Fraunce* when hee was king of *Nauarre*, though he knewe he could not offer it to a man in the world which leſſe loued him.

The pretence of the kinges of France to Naples & Millaine

But leauing theſe ſecret excuſable matters, and comming to open and publiſhed apparant practiſes: Seeing that the late king of France begann to growe ſtrong and mightie, the Proteſtants quiet, & his Realme peaceable, he thought it high time to looke about him, and therefore caſting his eies vpon the diſcontented humors of France, he amongeſt the reſt made choice to vſe as a principall inſtrument for ſhuffling the Cardes the late Duke of *Guyſe*, a braue and valorous Prince, haughtie, ambitious, audacious, a ſoldier, a ſpender, prodigall, popular, & indebted euen vp to the hard eares. Him he fed with mony, which, though not anſwerable to his humour, for to that effect this *Indias* had bene too litle,

The D. of Guiſe picked out by ye king of Spaine to ſet the ciuill wars of France abroach.

yet it put him in ſuch gallant humors, that he preſently reproachfully gaue out amongeſt the people, that the King was a fauourer of heretikes, a ſciſmatike, and a ſorcerer, and withall, hee called himſelfe Protectour of the Church of *France*, and finally, grew to ſo great an inſolencie, that beeing forbidden by the King, hee durſt enter into *Paris*, put the people in armes, aſſaile the Kings Guardes, and finally, conſtraine the king by flight to abandon both the Citie and his Pallace of the Louure. The day of which holy enterpriſe was ordained by the Sorboniſts to bee kept holyday, and called the day of the *Barricades*.

The' audacious inſolence of the Duke of Guiſe.

The daie of Barricades.

The king was mightily agreeued heereat: but being not able to play the lion, was contented for a while to counterfeit the Foxe, vſing the matter ſo ſlily that he drew the duke of *Guyſe* and his brother the Cardinal to the parlement of *Bloys*, where with faire and gentle wordes, hee ſo finely ouerwent them in the middeſt of all their confidence and greatneſſe, that whereas they did attribute all his friendly ſhewes and offers to want of courage, and feebleneſſe of ſpirit, hee neuertheleſſe ſtill perſeuered pretending all loue & meekeneſſe, vntill ſuch time, as taking them at aduantage hee ſaw them both lie dead and bleeding at his feete.

The D: of Guiſe & the Cardinal his brother ſlaine by ỹ king of France.

The newes of which tragicall accident was not ſo much diſpleaſing to the king of Spaine in regarde of their deaths, vpon whom his factious buſineſſe ſo much relied, as it was pleaſing, inſomuch that the greatnes of their parentage, the multitude of their followers and partiſeans, and the affections of the people conſidered, hee knewe, that there coulde not but enſue many great, tumultuous, and in a manner irreconcileable broiles, to which effect, *Mendoza* his purblind Embaſſadour in *Paris* ſeruing for nothing, but like the Diuelles trumpetter to ſet men together by the eares, vſed the vttermoſt of his endeuour and diligence, incenſing the

Mendoza the king of Spaines Embaſſador in Paris.

people

people to such ragefull madnesse, that though murdering one an other with mutuall wounds (which was the onely thing hee shotte at) they sawe apparantly their owne miserable calamitie & destruction, yet like men troubled with a frensie abhorring all remedy and cure, they grew from degree to degree into so great a fury and violence, that they procured the death of their annointed king, by the hands of a detestable Iacobine, whom as a late Frenchmen writes, they haue since, in regard of that worthy exploit canonized for a martir, by the name of *S. Clement*.

These things succeeding so much to the *Spanish* kings desire, whereas before his endeuour was, to nourish betweene them onely ciuill dissention and strife, hee now beganne to entertaine greater hopes, and to aspire to the verye royall diademe and monarchy of France. To which end he caused his Embassadour to hire the Sorbonists, Iesuites, and mercenarie Friers to steppe vp into the pulpits, and to insinuate to the people the necessitie of a king, especially of such a one as were mightie and of power to resist the king of Nauarre, coming then puisant in armes against them. *Mendoza* likewise spared not himselfe to broake his masters cause by briberie, and al the other best bad meanes he could, persuading them, his master hauing married a daughter of France, and his children beeing halfe French, that they coulde not so safely throwe themselues into the bosome or protection of anie man as of his: but in fine, the Parisiens liked better of his golde than his gouernment, and elected for theyr King the olde Cardinall of Burbon, & at that time prisoner to the king that nowe is, calling him *Charles* the tenth. But beeing neere eightie yeres of age, was scarcely so soone chosen as dead. Then began *Mendoza* to bestirre himselfe againe, and within a while likewise to helpe him the better, the Duke of Feria was sent downe: but the vtmost that hee coulde

The Cardinall of Burbon elected k. of France by the name of Charls ỹ tenth.

The D. of Feria sent downe into Paris

do, with infinit and profuſe expence of their maſters mony, was to get him the title of protector of France: prouided alwaies that the Spaniſh piſtolets kept their courſe, which only kept him from being diſcarded: for how cloſely ſo euer he handled the matter, the league had diſcouered, that like a canker hee meant to eate into their eſtate. And therefore though they could not break with him, their buſines being now brought to a neceſsitie of him and his monie, yet they liked not his intitcling himſelfe to Britaine, and ſundrie other his proceedings, all tending to vſurpation, inſomuch, that they held him in ſo great a iealouſy, diffidence, and miſtruſt, that they would neuer ſuffer anie of his forces for to enter into anie of their townes or places of importance, but had continually as watchfull an eie ouer him as they would haue done ouer their enemie. Neither was he (how faire a ſhew ſo euer he made) behinde them in the like ſubtilties of practiſe, as the courſe of his actions did well declare. For, when as they were by the king ſo ſtraightly beſieged in Paris, that they were readie to eate one another through hunger, he made his Lieutenant the Duke of Parma, although he were long before readie, yet ſtill to delay his ſuccours, euen vntill they laboured in their laſt gaipe, and then the great effect that hee did for them, was onely to put a fewe browne loaues and cheeſes into their towne, not therewith to releeue the extremitie of their famine, but euen as if a man woulde giue a locke of haie vnto a hungrie iade, onely to keepe him in life. He freed not their riuers, nor fought not with their enemie, but went his waie, leauing them in a manner in as deſperate eſtate as he found them.

The king of Spaine choſen protector of France.

The k. of Spain and the league, in iealouſie one of another.

The like hee did at Roane, in neither place ſo much as once aduenturing to fight for their ſakes, which was not ſo much in diffidence of his force, as that hee meant not with Spaniſh bloud to purchaſe the victorie, leauing the French

men rather to iustle one against another, to the end that he might tread vppon both parties when they were downe. Which beeing by the wiſeſt of the Leaguers perceiued, as Vytry, Vitroy, Grillio, &c. they abandoned him vtterly, betaking them to the ſeruice of their owne true and lawfull King. Sundrie other of them haue done the like, and in a manner all, except ſome few, who draweſtill backward rather through the terrour of their owne deſpairing conſcience, than in anie hope of good ſucceſſe, or fortunate euent.

Heere now you ſee, that this French league and ſocietie of his, hath not bene, nor is vnto him of anie auaile, but rather of great detriment, burthen, and expence.

As for the Princes of Italy, what faire weather ſo euer they do beare him, he neither truſteth them, nor they him, and the pretences of the one, and the eſtates of the other conſidered, neither of them both is without reaſon: and withall this malediction hangeth ouer the head of him and his nation, that as hee is of all forraine nations, doubted, & abhorred, ſo both hee and the verie name of a Spaniard, is vnto the reſt of his owne ſubiects moſt loathſome and hatefull: inſomuch that in Millaine the young Gentlemen among many other paſtimes, count that which they do call *Caccia marrani* not to bee the meaneſt, which is, by putting on viſards vpon their faces by night, to go with their rapiers or good picked baſtinadoes vnder their cloakes, out into the towne to ſeeke Spaniardes, in the ſtewes, or anie other place, where they are like to finde anie of them, and there to giue them as many ſtabs and blowes as they can lay vpon them, inſomuch that the Spaniards dare not for their eares abide out of the caſtle after the ſhutting in of the gates.

The k. of Spain and the princes of Italy in diffidence one with another.

A paſtime of yong Gentlemē of Millaine, which they call Caccia Marrani.

Neither is the affection of the poore Netherlanders better towards them, who as their vſage hath bene harder,

The hatred of y Netherlanders to the Spaniards

so is their desire of reuenge greater, insomuch, that whensoeuer any Spaniard falleth into their handes straglíng from the army, or otherwise, he is assured to endure as much cruelty, as their best inuention can adde vnto the extremitie of their hatred, some they haue whipped to death, others they haue mangled with lingering torments, and some they haue buried aliue in the ground, leauing nothing out but their heades, at which they haue bowled matches, neuer leauing till they sawe their bowles imbrewed with their braines.

The cruelties of the Spaniardes to the West Indians, & of the hatred in which they liue.

As for the poore west Indians, of whom at their first arriuall they were honored as gods, after a small and short acquaintance with their customes, humors and cruelties, they were so deepely and dispairefully detested, that there was nothing more vsuall, than to see those poore wretches by great companies to get themselues to the toppes of rockes, and to tumble themselues downe headlong into the sea, others to cutte their owne throates with sharpe stones, some to pine themselues away with famine, yea & women great with childe, some to take poison, and some to rippe open their owne wombes, to the end, to free themselues and their infants from the hatefull conuersation and cruell gouernment of those intollerable Spaniards, whose monstrous inhumanitie, they deemed far more vnsufferable and vnsociable than the raging fury of lions, beares, or whatsoeuer bloudy monsters.

I will not defile my pen with writing, nor your eares with hearing their barbarous, natureless, and vnmanly kinds of inhumanity exercised vpon those poor, desolate, miserable, & distressed wretches, the whole world being infected with the fame thereof.

The extremitie of the Portugals hatred towards the Spaniard.

But if you will thence throwe your eyes vppon the kingdome of Portugall, (a Nation, ciuill, militarie, opulent and noble) with desire to see howe hee is there loued, honored,

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and affected, you must consider, that in former times of their happinesse, libertie and fredome, there was neuer any hatred so setled, deadly, and violent, as that which they bare vnto the Spaniard, insomuch, that if any one of them had but chanced to name a *Castilian*, hee would presently haue spet (as the common sort vsually doe when they speake of the Deuil to cleanse his mouth after the pronouncing of so hatefull a word) but being nowe constraind to receiue for masters, those that before they would not alow for honourable enimies, nor euer vse and intreat according to those militar rules that the nobleneſſe of war prescribes, as their battailes of *Alinbarota* and *Toro* can testifie, wherein they suffered not any one prisoner to escape vnslaine.

Their hatred then being (as I saide before) so great, that it coulde not well be greater, you may imagine, that this their constrained slauerie and seruitude hath no whit at all amended their affection, especially beeing guiltie to themselues, that hee hath wroong himselfe into their estate, not by any iustice of election or lawfull title of inheritance, but by an absolute iniurious vsurpation, and forcible intruding violence, making the puissance of his army supply the weakeneſſe of his title. And so contrary vnto the testament and ordinance of their last King, the Cardinall, and to the great scorne & preiudice of all the other competitors, who were all agreed to stand to the triall of iustice, surprized them, and seazed their estate, being vnarmed and vtterly vnprouided of all meanes of defence, attending nothing lesse than violence, especially the title being vndecided, & they wholy busied & intētiue about means to cleer & discusse the same.

Finally, being by violence possessed of the crown, he presently vsed the authoritie of a Conquerour, and the tyrannicall crueltie of an vniust vsurper, altering their lawes, confounding their priuileges, & turning vpside down the whole

estate

The cruelty of the k. of Spaine in Portugall.

eſtate of their gouernment. Their Nobilitie were ſome ſtrangled, ſome beheaded, ſome imprisoned, & ſome banished. Their religious men & Friers, ſuch as had in the pulpit ſpoken for the libertie of their Country, were pulled out of their Cloiſters, ſome murthered, ſome drowned in the riuer, & ſome beaten to death, & finally, becauſe there ſhould be no kinde of cruelty left vnattempted, ſundry Ladies of great account for being faithfull and ſecrete wiues to their husbands, were imprisoned, fettered, & banished with their deare and tender children, without compaſſion of their ſexe or innocencie.

The vſage of Don Antonios agent, his daghters, & mother in law, & three Gentlewomen, profeſſed Nuns, of the order of Saint Clare

Which tyrannicall proceedings, if they were able to alienate mindes otherwiſe before well affected, what iudge you would they then do, to thoſe that were already filled and poſſeſſed with the higheſt degree of hatred and enimitie? Surely he is puiſſant & enioyeth many kingdomes & countries, but it hath not pleaſed God to bleſſe him with the loue and hearty affection of his ſubiectes, wherein conſiſteth the true beatitude of a Prince. Tyrantes for the time command the bodies of men, but onely vertuous Princes enioy the poſſeſſion of their mindes, which in deede is a much more kingly, noble, and heroycall domination. For the one, euerie man wiſheth his deſtruction, and gapeth after euery occaſion of alteration and change: for the other, euery mans eye watcheth, euery mans heart prayeth, euery mans life and liuing is ready for their defence, as though all their liues, treaſure and welfares were in them alone included.

The true beatitude of a Prince conſiſteth in ỹ vnfained loue of his ſubiectes.

The happineſſe of a vertuous Prince.

It is in a priuate mans eſtate, a thing comfortleſſe, hatefull, yea, and dangerous too, not to be beloued, but (as they ſay) from the teeth outward, of thoſe that ſerue and followe him, but much more in the greatnes & dignitie of a Prince, who ſhould be as a carefull ſhepheard, to defend and preſerue his flocke, as a louing father, zealouſly affecting the

proſperitie

prosperitie of his subiects, & finally as the image and lieutenant of God shining ouer them with his heauenly rayes of vertue, bounty, clemency, piety, and iustice, and not as the Eagle and Lion, who being the kings of birdes and beastes doe maintaine themselues by the bloud and destruction of their subiects.

In fine, it is to be wished, that it would please God of his goodnesse, either to graunt the King of Spaine a better moderation in his greatnesse, or else soone to bereaue him of those meanes, thorowe the confidence of which his ambitious greatnesse hath set all Christendom in an vproare.

But leauing him heere to his ambitious vsurpations, cruelties, seuerities, rigors, and iniustices, and his vnfortunate subiects to their enthralment, vexation, slauery, slaughter, and bondage: let vs from this hell of miseries cast backe our eyes vppon that heauen of blissefulnesse which wee doe enioy at home, vnder the fortunate and happy gouernement of our most excellent and incomparable soueraigne, there wee shall finde an other estate of matters, all things flowing in plenty, peace, comfort, quietnesse, pleasure, and tranquilitie. Her Realme copiously abounding in men of warre like disposition, of whome, as she is outwardlie reuerenced and obeyed, so shee is inwardly vnfainedly loued & adored, her warres are iust, charitable, and defensiue, for maintenance of the which, besides the trust that she reposeth in God, shee is allied in strait league, friendship, & confederated with the most victorious and christian king of France, with the Kings of Scotland and Denmarke, with the Switsers, & with sundry princes and estates of the empire, most of them being her neighbours, and their dominions vnited, or not farre distant from hers, and thereby ready to assist, aide, & succour one an other in all such occasions as shall or may happen.

The fortunate & blessed estate of England vnder the gouernement of her Maiestie.

Shee like a princely, zealous, and louing mother careful-

ly tendereth, fostereth, and preserueth her subiects by wisedome and fortitude from forreine violences, & by clemencie, religion, and iustice, from inward mischieses.

If on the other side you desire to knowe how her subiects stand affected towards her, marke then the manner and behauiour of the people, when as you see a traitor going to his arraignement or execution, which though it be a case of compassion, and moouing the mindes of men to commiserate the calamitous estate of those vnfortunate wretches: yet such is the ardent loue they beare to her Maiestie, the iealousie of her safetie, and the hatred to her enimies, that many times they are hardly restrained by the officers from doing violence to the prisoners on the waye, and whereas they doe vsually accompanie all other kind of malefactours to their deaths with a kinde of feeling sorrowe and compassion, they doe then no other thing but curse, banne, and reuile these with all the most opprobrious speeches they can inuent, yea, and commonly applaude the instant of their deaths, with a general shout of ioy, with some such crie or other, as, *God saue the Queene, and confound all traitours*: flattery this can not be, nor hope of rewarde, being confusedly done by thousandes of vnknowen people, much lesse feare of correction, for silence is vnpunished. No no, it is no constrained feare, but a voluntary affection that must sway in this sorte the mindes of a multitude.

Vpon the death of king Edward the fourth, the Duke of *Buckingham* made an eloquent Oration in the Guilde hall, flattering the Maior and his brothers, and promising them many goodly matters and golden dayes, in the behalfe of king Richard the tyrant. The assembly seeing there was no remedie to preuent the intended mischiefe, did him reuerence with their bodies, but with sorrowfull faces, & silent tongues: insomuch, that the Duke rebuked their silence, &

began his excellent premeditated tale againe, halfe threatening, halfe begging an applause, but it would not be: not any one that would open his lippes to crie, king Richard, except a fewe of his owne lackies at the neather ende of the Hall, so that (as I say) howsoeuer their bodies maye, the mindes of men can neuer be constrained. Blessed therefore and glorious is the domination of her Maiestie the which so happily & fully possesseth, not onely the exterior seruice of her subiectes bodies, but also the interiour fidelitie of their minds. I cannot omit hereto speak a word or two, as well of the worthinesse and loyaltie of those honorable gentlemen of her Maiesties Court, who vpon the approch of the Spanish fleete, presented, not only their persons & liues for the defence of her Ma. but also a great portion and yeerely reuenue of their landes, as also of her Maiesties great benignitie and gratious answere, telling them, That shee accounted her selfe rich enough, in that shee possessed such subiects, assuring them, that for her part, shee woulde spend the last penye of her treasures for their defence, rather than shee would be burthenous vnto them. O happy people in such a Princesse, and happie princesse in such a people, here is a well tuned musicke, an agreeing concord and perfect harmonie of gouerment, where the frankenesse of voluntarie affection draweth from men the effects of duty, and not the basenesse of seruile and constrained feare.

The honorable offer certaine worthie gentlemen of ỹ court made vnto her maiestie.

And her most princely & gracious aunswere made vnto thē againe

Let atheists and traytors breath out their bootelesse blasphemies, and inueigh, impugne & maligne against the florishing happines of our estate: & let them turne themselues to al the malicious practises they can: the end of al their wicked endeuours will be like *Erisichthon*, that dared presume to lay his profane axe vpon the holie tree of Ceres, to starue, languish, & pine away with a self consuming disease of enuy & dispaire. As for those that are vertuous & wise, they cánot

but in the infinitnes of our bleſſings acknowledge the mightie and apparant hand of God, which ſurely cannot be caſuall or attributed to the politike induſtrie of man, but meerely to the mightineſſe of Gods mercifull working, and to his long and eternall fore-appointed ordinance.

In fine, to come to the concluſion of this point, you ſee that her Maieſtie is protected by god, confederated and linked in frendſhip and alliance with mighty Kings & Princes, that ſhe commaundeth a populous and manly Nation, that her warres are vertuous, iuſt and lawfull, and finally, her ſucceſſes fortunate and proſperous.

This then being conſidered, I ſee no reaſon, why you or anye man elſe ſhoulde bee ſo apprehenſiue of that terrour wherewith the Spaniſh Brokers doe daily indeuour to diſmay the courages of our countrimen.

If it be through doubt, that our Nation is not equall vnto the Spaniard in force of armes and valour of courage, I can not iudge of him that ſhall ſo conceiue as of a true Engliſh man borne, but as of a degenerate, baſtardly, and adulterine plant, guiltie to his owne minde of an inwarde ſelfe feeling cowardiſe: and finally, worthye of that enthralled ſlauery, vnder which many of our falſehearted countrimen doe groane and languiſh; as one that through the diſeaſe, infection, and vnſoundneſſe of his owne corrupted minde is not able for to take the true taſte, and reliſh of his owne natiue country vertues. Sore eyes can not endure the Sunne beames, nor falſe hatefull mindes neuer harbour true or noble thoughts and affections. The Poet ſaieth:

Thucid. Τῷ γὰρ ἐρῶντι, τὸ μὲν πρᾶον, πᾶν εὐφρόνη.

To him that loues, each foule thing ſeemeth faire:
And ſo by contrary,
To him that hates, each faire thing ſeemeth foule.

If ſuch would but reade the Chronicles, as well of ours

as other nations, they ſhould find, that a ſmall army of Engliſh men, vnder the conduct of that worthy & magnanimous Prince of *Wales*, eldeſt ſonne to King Edward the third, paſſed in deſpight of them through *Nauarre* into *Spaine*, and there euen in the middeſt & bowels of their owne country, ouerthrew at *Nadres* their vſurping king Henry the baſtard (of whoſe race this man is diſcended by his grandmother) beeing accompanied with the nobilitie of their countrie, and three ſcore thouſand of the braueſt fighting men in Spaine, and ſo vetterly ouerthrew him, that they erected in his place *Don Pedro*, theyr iuſt and lawfull Prince of that kingdome, compelling, & by maine force conſtraining the nobilitie & Cities to receiue him. There they may likewiſe reade the valorous conqueſts atchieued by *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaſter* brother to the ſaide Prince in *Galicia* againſt *Don Iohn*, ſonne of the ſaide *Henry* the vſurping baſtard: beſides, the Chronicles of Portugall are full of the martiall proweſſe of the Engliſh men, and glorious victories obtained in ſeruice of their King, to whoſe aide they were called againſt the ſaide king of *Caſtile*.

The memorable and famous batell of Nadre obtained by the Engliſhmen in Spaine vnder the conduct of the blacke Prince

John Duke of Lancaſter victorious in Galicia

At the bettel of Alniberoth

But what neede I run backe into the paſſed ages, to ſeeke examples? Looke but into the incounters that haue beene of late dayes betweene them & vs eyther by ſea or by land, and you ſhall finde that wee haue alwayes carryed the victorie, and they the blowes. As, by land, at the incounter of *Crane*, and that of *Zutphen*, where the honour of the worlde and ornament of Englande ſir Phillip Sidney, by his too much aduenturous valour was ſlaine, beſides manye other bickeringes and skirmiſhes of leſſe moment needeleſſe to recite.

Of ſea matters I doe count it booteleſſe for to ſpeake, ſo greatly and aboue meaſure glorious is the ſame, & bruited throughout the world of the worthy voiages of ſir *Francis*

Drake, ſir *Iohn Hawkins*, ſir *Martine Frobiſher*, Captaine *Ryman*, the *Fenners*, and the reſt of the braue and couragious Gentlemen, who for the benefit of their countrie haue not ſpared to make aduenture of their liues and fortunes.

But if you deſire one example of all, let that then ſerue of his huge late fleet, with the which Golyas-like he threatned heauen and earth, and with the which hee thought to haue circumuented & ſurprized at vnawares her Maieſtie, whileſt falſely, wickedly, and abuſiuely hee entertained her maieſties commiſſioners in Flanders, with a treaty of peace: to which her Highneſſe like vnto a Chriſtian Princeſſe, and for to auoid the effuſion of Chriſtian bloud, was verie inclinable: but God, as he hath alwaies done, ſo at this time did hee miraculouſly protect her Maieſtie in ſuch ſort, that through the great, carefull, and valorous reſolution of the Lord high Admirall of England, and the reſt of his noble and couragious followers, they were with a ſmall number of Engliſh ſhips ſo fiercely and vigorouſly encountred, that their reſiſtance not preuailing them, they were ſcattered, chaſed, and vtterly diſcomfited, in ſuch ſorte as the whole world knoweth: ſo that Lucans verſe, which in thoſe daies he wrote to the glorie of our nation, vpbraiding the Romanes cowardiſe, may to none better bee applyed (in my iudgement) than vnto them.

Territa quæſitis oſtendunt terga Britannis.

Beſides, what better triall can you haue of the valour of either Nation than this, they beeing thirtie thouſand, the creame of all their forces, & about the aſſembling of which he had bene aboue three yeeres buſied, yet when they came vpon the coaſt of England, dared not to land a man: whereas we the next yeere following, with a little nauie, containing not aboue cleuen thouſand men, vnder the conduct of the two renowmed Captaines, ſir *Iohn Norris* and ſir *Fran-*

ces

ers Drake, landed in Spaine, burned his ships, put his people to the sword, and his townes to the fire, and coasted thence into Portugall, and there landing, marched in his countrie, euen to his gates of Lisbone, with drums sounding, & with ensignes displayed: from whence wee returned vnfought withall by anie of his forces by sea or land.

These thinges well considered, mee thinketh you haue greater reason to hope one daie to see English Ensignes displaied in Madrill, together with the vtter ruine of this aspiring tyrant, and all his followers and partiseans, than any waie to feare him and his proceedinges. And yet there is one point besides all the aboue rehearsed, out of which we may receiue singular comfort, as that which of all other most deepely vexeth and afflicteth his cogitations, and which (no doubt) before it bee long, wyll giue vs a great aduantage against him, and that is, the contention which he seeth to springvp in his owne house, of which I will briefly discourse vnto you the occasions, because yee shall vnderstand the same the better.

Hee hath by seuerall wiues three children liuing, two daughters and one sonne, the sonne young of yeres, pale, & weake of complexion, & not of the greatest viuacitie of spirit, though the same, according to the course of the world, is by the common sort much couered vnder the high dignitie of a Prince. His eldest daughter whome they call La Infanta of Spaine, a woman as by birth great, so proud exceedingly, haughtie minded, and aboue measure aspiring, prudent in her speeches, maiesticall in her actions & countenance, and aboue her sexe manly and couragious: her he hath alwaies nourished vnder his owne wing, acquainting her euen frō her cradle, with matters of state & gouernmēt. In which now, by reason of her long experience therin, she is exceedingly practised & ripe, with what waightie matter so euer

His eldest and onely son Don Phillip by Anne of Austria, daughter to Maximilian the second.

His eldest daughter Donna Isabella by Madam Isabel, the eldest daughter to Henrie ye second

ſoeuer he vndertakes, he participateth the ſame before demaunding her aduice & counſel, ſpending ſomtimes whole halfe daies they two in communication together: vpon her (the youth and imbecillitie of the yong Prince conſidered) are the eyes of all men throwen, vpon her depend the nobilitie, gentlemen, and commons, and innumerable troupes of ſuters, into whoſe hearts ſhe hath ſo inſinuated hir ſelfe, that they beare an exceeding loue and reuerence towardes her, many mightie men haue bin offered her in marriage, as the Emperour Rodolph, the Cardinall of Auſtria, and others, but ſhe will abandon Spaine for none of them all, till ſhe ſee what will become of her father, whom ſhee ſeeth olde, oppreſſed with infinit cares, and not likely long to liue, vppon whoſe death, her actions and manner of life doth aſſuredly ſhew, that ſhee is not of mettall to giue place to the young Prince her brother, but at leſt ſhe meanes to part ſtakes with him.

In Spaine ſhe knowes there is no law Salike, to bridle her ambitious thoughtes, but women may ſucceede as well as men, for ſo did her great grandmother Iuana to Ferdinando her father, and Iſabella wife to Ferdinand, to Don Henriques her brother. Hauing theſe examples before her eyes, ſhee feedeth her minde with high and ambitious deſires, of which her pretence ſhe made ſo cleere and euident demonſtrations, that hir father, to preuent this miſchiefe the which he feareth, was forced, not long ſince, to aſſemble and gather the whole Eſtates of Spaine, and to make them ſweare to be true to his ſonne, whom hee preſently cauſed to keepe his court apart, ſending him ſundrie of his councell, and commanding the nobilitie to be attendant on him, acquainting him, as much as in him lieth, with the managing of matters of waight and gouernment: beſides, it was a while bruited for certaine, that the Preſident of Artoys, Richardol, whom the

When her father was ſicke ſome 3: yeeres ſince, & the D: of Sauoy ſent for into Spaine, ſhe ſo wrought that by her Fathers teſtament ſhe was ordained to be gouerneſſe of Spaine, & protectreſſe of the young prince her brother.

the duke of Parma had ſent into Spaine, to make his excuſes & iuſtifications againſt certaine pointes of treaſon, of which hee was by the Duke of Paſtrana and the Prince of Aſcoly accuſed to the King, vppon his returne had commiſſion to aſſemble the nobilitie and ſtates of the Lowe Countries, & to cauſe them to take the like oath vnto his ſonne, thereby to preuent as well his daughter, as the Duke of Parma of theyr conceiued hopes: but whatſoeuer the cauſe was, the ſame was not effected.

But nowe to come vnto his ſeconde daughter, whome hee hath long time ſince beſtowed in marriage vpon Charles Emanuel the Duke of Sauoy, with abſolute promiſe and ſolemne vowe betwixt him & her, to leaue her a kingdome for her dowrie. Shee is a Princeſſe in ambition and high deſire, nothing vnequall to her ſiſter, but in witte and courage verie farre her inferiour. Shee and her husband both alrcadie take vppon them in their manner, ſtile and vſage, a ſtate and title farre beyond their dignitie, conuenient onely vnto Kings, Altezza is the meaneſt phraſe that they will bee ſpoken in vnto, refuſing anie Letters that are not ſo entituled, for ſuch is the will and pleaſure of the King her father. Naples and the Dutchie of Millaine they haue already deuoured in their hopes, which if her father at his death leaue not quietly vnto them, they will bee ſo bolde as to ſtraine courteſie with his ſonne, to get them perforce (if they can,) on the other ſide, the States of Italie like not ſuch a mightie neighbour amongeſt them: and therefore to preuent both him & his father in lawes deſſeignement haue made a moſt ſtraight ſecret league and alliance amongeſt themſelues, terming the ſame *ragione de ſtato*: in the which are comprized, the Pope, the Venetians, the Duke of Florence, the Dukes of Vrbyne, Mantua, and Ferrara.

Altezza, Highneſſe,

His ſeconde daughter by the daughter of France.

Donna Katalina maried to the Duke of Sauoy.

The Duke of Parma in his life time dared not to enter in

among them, but was forced, though none more agreeued, to diſſemble and temporize for a while, he knew right well that the King had beene exceeding iealous of him, and did ſeeke, though ſlily and diſſemblingly, his life, honour and reputation. What his ſonne the new Duke will doe when occaſion ſhall ſerue, the Lorde onely knoweth, but certaine is, that the detention of Portugall, to which he perſwadeth himſelf to haue right: *manet alta mente repoſtum*, ſticketh in deepe in his ſtomacke; & ſurely when as opportunitie ſhall be preſented, it is thought hee will make the world witneſſe of his diſcontentmēt. But leauing theſe things to their euent and the better diſcuſſion of theſe points, at which I haue but lightly glanced, to men of greater abilitie, hauing alredy exceeded the limites which I did at the beginning of this diſcourſe proportion to my ſelfe, it is now time that I reſtraine my pen, concluding, that the fame of the k. of Spain is greater than his force; & he not better to be likened than to a ſhadow, which ſeeming long towards the ſetting of the ſunne, yeldeth to our ſight a deceitfull proportion of his greatnes. The Philoſophers holde, that there is in all things, a beginning, a progreſſe, a ſtate, & a declining, & that the perfecter their creation & beginning is, the more are they durable, & longer ere they come vnto their period. And ſo contrary; if their beginning be corrupt & vnſound, it is improbable & impoſſible, that there ſhuld be any long continuance: which argument, if it be, as it is, infallible, then what ſhal we expect of this maſſe of kingdomes which the king of Spaine & his late predeceſſors haue hudled together by extortion, intruſion of himſelf, extruſiō of others, violence, iniuſtice, & moſt of them by forcible vſurpation, but that one day, when opportunitie ſhal ſerue, euery bird will claim his own feather, and leaue him or his heires naked: In the meane time (as I ſaid before) in regard of his many irons in the fire, the diſ-

The Duke of Parma and his diſcontentment

The fame of ỳ king of Spaine exceedeth his force.

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ioyned ſituation of his owne prouinces, & laſtly, the generall hatred that the world beareth him, he is nothing ſo formidable as hee ſeemeth. But by the way, I would not haue any man miſtake me, in this extenuation of his mightines, as though I ſhould do the ſame to lull vs aſleep in ſecuritie, for there is nothing more dangerous thã a contemned enemy. Let vs rather do like wel diſciplined ſouldiers, that keepe ſtill good & warie watch, though they be neuer ſo far from the enemy. I doe not thinke that the deuil hath ſo many hornes in his head, & ſtings in his taile, as he is painted withall: yet neuertheleſſe I think him to be very ill fauouredly faced, & a dangerous companion, and able to do much hurt if a man do come within the compaſſe of his clawes. It is an old ſaying, Frugalitie is the mother of Liberalitie, and Warineſſe of Securitie. Let not vs of our part be defectiue in contributing our goods, or hazarding our purſes for the publike weale of our Countrey, than which, nothing is more honourable. Neither let vs grow confident and careleſſe, in that of late ſince the ouerthrow of his laſt fleete he hath not attempted any new inuaſion, but aſſure our ſelues, that hee fetcheth his blow the further, becauſe he woulde ſtrike the ſurer. The Dutchmen haue a prouerb, that when the Spaniard ſleepes, the diuel rockes the Cradle. Let vs therefore be in a readines for him againſt hee awake, the which vndoubtedly we ſhall be, & that to this diſaduantage, if we wil feare God, obey her Maieſty, and be true within our ſelues, from which vnion whoſoeuer ſhal diſmember himſelf, God ſend him ſpeedy amendment, or elſe as he deſerueth, ſoone confuſion. I knowe this diſcourſe of mine ſhall bee diuerſly cenſured of, according to the diuerſitye of their affections that ſhall chaunce for to reade it, but that requeſt which I did make in the beginning, I turne in the ende nowe to renew; the which is to intreate thoſe that ſhall peruſe it,

not to bring with them any setled fore-ingrafted opinion, but vnclothing their mindes and affections of all partialitie to iudge thereof accordinglie as the truth of the matter, and the sincerenesse of my meaning deserueth.

Let them onely wince that feele their galled backe rubbed (for my part) I would to God, and I wish it vnfainedly, that this poore aduertisement of mine, might serue as a cataplasme or medicine to remedy & cure y rankling of their maladie and disease: the which if it may not be, but that in recompence of my friendly, honest, and charitable intentions they shall rewarde mee with a malicious and detracting censure, I shall not therewith be much grieued, but rather greatly comforted, in hauing made my selfe worthy of their malice, the which seeing they haue not spared to powre out in such opprobrious termes against Princes and men of authority e, it were folly in me to thinke to escape it, or want of courage to regarde it.

As for the trueth of these things which I haue touched, I giue them free libertie and scope to impugne it if they can; nay rather, I wish with my heart, that they could disproue it, and that my writings might bee condemned as false, so their action might be iustified as innocent, and that therein my Countrey might not with the vyper haue cause to complain of the too much fertilitie of her womb, and the vnnaturalnesse of her owne fruit.

But lastly nowe to you for whose behoose I do chiefely take these paines, whereas you doe write, that if so bee there were no other benefite to be gotten in those partes, but attaining the language of forreine Nations, with the knowledge of militarie discipline, and the state of the worlde abroad, wherein you heare, that euen my selfe & others your Countrymen haue somwhat profited, it were a motion sufficient, not onely to make you leaue your Countrey for a

time,

time, but also to hazard your selfe to any dangers in forrein partes: I haue thought it good, therein to let you vnderstand, that howsoeuer I, or any other haue profited therein, yet as the time doth nowe serue, and the case now standeth at this present, there is no possibilitie that you or any other may, in farre longer time than I haue spent, attaine to the like. And if you coulde, yet the daungers that in aduenturing the same you shall endure, were farre greater than the benefites you could possibly reape might in any wise counteruaile, were they such as might answer your expectation: in which respect I pray you first consider, that when I came first ouer thither, the warres then there vndertaken, seemed, and were in apparance to all the meaner sort of men in the world, but intestine warres, betweene the king and his subiectes, such as neither forraine prince, and most especially our most noble Queene and Soueraigne was therein nothing interessed, whereas since it hath beene made manifest to the worlde, that these warres and iniuries offered by the King of Spaine vnto those of the lowe Countries, whose lawes, customes, and priuiledges he hath most violently, tyrannously, wrongfully and periuredly broken, hath freed them from his subiection, yoke and tyranny, and iustly, and deseruedly for euer caused him to lose all such preheminences, prerogatiues, authoritie & iurisdiction as he pretended ouer them, as more amply appeareth in the auncient Recordes of the priuileges of these Nations, which both hee & his predecessors at euery of their entery of gouernement into those prouinces haue solemnely vowed and sworne to maintain, al in general, or euery one in particular inuiolate, and vppon that couenant and condition, they haue reciprocally sworne vnto him due fidelitie and obeysance, hee failing in the one, they to be exempted from the other.

Moreouer, her Maiestie seeing the lamentable and most pittifull

pititull case of her distressed neighbours and allies, finding no other possible meanes, by labour, suites, messages, & sundry Ambassadours, which shee most honorably sent vnto the King of Spaine for pacifying the saide troubles, and reconciling the saide king, and those sometimes his saide subiectes, hath been inforced to take pittie and commiseration of their most miserable and afflicted estate and distresse, & for their releefe, to her excessiue & almost importable charges, to vndertake a most iust, godly, and charitable defensiue warre against those that daily seeke the bloud, liues, goods, lands, and liberties of the inhabitants of the said distressed Nations, since which being published, I thinke it not onely vnlawful, but a most heinous & capitall crime & offence, for any of her maiesties subiectes to serue on the contrary parte.

It shall be good for you and all other good subiects of her maiesties to remember, that consideration being had by her Maiesty and her most honourable prudent councell, of the loosnes of many of her subiects, & small respect they had to her Highnesse and countrey, & as little to their owne safetie, her maiestie, hath caused to bee published and set foorth diuers lawes, ordinances, proclamations & inhibitions, whereby all her subiects (except knowen marchants and strangers are straightly forbidden to passe the seas into any forraine partes, without especiall licence of her maiesty. Therefore if you or any other of her maiesties subiects, shall nowe attempt to passe the seas without lawfull licence, there is no reason why you should expect any other than the rigour of the lawes and iustice, and to be holden guiltie of cases capitall, especially such as shall serue vnder so open & professed an enemy to the crown and state.

Further, I pray you to haue in consideration, that when I came ouer hither, the case so stood, as all gentlemen of any qualitie or merite, were gratefully receiued, and employed

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in good & honourable ſeruices; whereas ſince the Spaniard hath profeſſed himſelfe an open enemye to her Maieſtie and the ſtate of her realme, hee hath had all Engliſh men in very baſe account, being iealous and extreamely ſuſpitious of thoſe that be moſt inward with him, and who for his ſake haue made ſhipwracke, not only of their honour and credit, but alſo of their loyalty, duty, and alleagance to her maieſty and their natiue countrey; examples whereof are infinit, and partly touched in my diſcourſe before ſet downe. Beſides, there is of late crept into that Nation, with a commaunding authority, a prowd, inſolent, & factious company of Ieſuites, and with them a conſorted crew of other practiſing buſie people, all of them malicious enemies to her maieſtie, & to their owne countrey, vile and pernicious inſtruments of the Spaniſh King and his adherents, who daily (as it is manyfeſt to them that haue knowledge and experience of them and their actions) ſeeke nothing more than the vtter ruine, pulling downe, & deſtruction of her maieſtie & their countrey: He therefore that doth thinke to liue among theſe ſubtile & dangerous people, in any credit or account, let him, as hee worthily doth deſerue, be accounted beſide his wits, or els as diſobedient & traiterous to almightie God, her maieſtie, & his countrey. As for my part, howſoeuer in my yong yeeres affected to learne languages, & to ſee the warres & faſhions of forraine places, yet when I perceiued that the matter beganne to concerne her maieſtie, & withall, to looke into the drift and conueyance whereto their practiſes tended, preſently abandoning & vtterly reiecting the merit of my long ſeruice, & ſuch hopes and preferments, the which I might as wel as any man elſe of my quality of my nation haue pretended, & perchance ſhoulde as ſoone haue obtained, I made humble interceſſion to her Maieſtie my moſt honoured princeſſe and ſoueraigne Lady, for my returne, which of her royall and accuſtomed benignitie ſhee gratiouſly graunted:

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ſo that beſides the vnfained prayer which I will neuer ceaſe to ſend to the heauens from the depth of a moſt faithfull affection for the continuance of her bleſſed eſtate and happineſſe, I take God to record, that there is not in this world any thing that I more thirſt after, than an occaſion to make the world witneſſe of the deſire I haue to do her ſeruice: and ſo concluding, I beſeech God, that as her vertues are infinit, ſo her ioyes may be endleſſe.

Amen.

FINIS.